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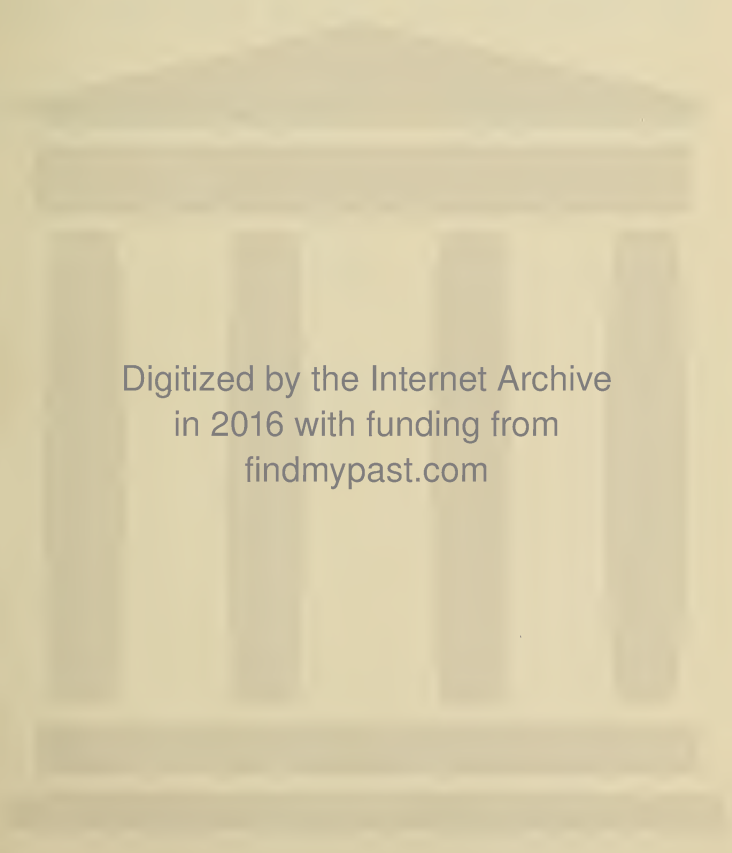
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WHITE, WET, AND WINTRY

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

WINTER 1950

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## BILLY YANK AND THE BRASS

BY BELL IRVIN WILEY

THE period of the Civil War may be regarded as the "middle ages" in American officer-soldier relationships. Ideas of caste were less pronounced and discipline was less severe than in Revolutionary times. On the other hand, the gulf between "shoulder straps" and soldiers in the 1860's was considerably greater than in World War II and brutal punishments were far more common then than now.

A recent study by the writer of soldier life in the Union Army throws interesting light on the relations between the man in the ranks, otherwise known as "Billy Yank," and his superiors. In the course of this study thousands of unpublished letters and diaries were read, as well as scores of court-martial proceedings, numerous files of old newspapers, and shelf upon shelf of published personal narratives and official records. These fascinating accounts tell much of what the soldiers thought of their officers, high and low, the relations which existed between the two groups, and the general state of discipline during Civil War times.

*Bell Irvin Wiley is professor of history at Emory University, Georgia, and is well known for his books on the Civil War as it affected the "common man." Among these works are The Life of Johnny Reb, The Plain People of the Confederacy, and Southern Negroes, 1861-1865. A projected volume on the life of "Billy Yank" will include the material in the current article. Dr. Wiley served as historical officer with Headquarters, Army Ground Forces during World War II and is the coauthor of two official histories devoted to phases of that conflict.*

Of individual officers in the top grades, McClellan was unquestionably the most popular among the rank and file. Criticisms of him occur very rarely in soldier letters and diaries and in the majority of cases they come from men outside his command. The private soldier in the Army of the Potomac who, during the war, condemned "Little Mac" was a striking exception. When McClellan's own soldiers did find fault with him it was usually on the basis of his slowness and lack of aggression. A Michigan Yank, chafing at McClellan's inactivity during the balmy winter of 1861-1862, wrote on January 4, 1862, from Northern Virginia:

When Joshua Fought against the Amorites God Commanded the Sun to Stand Still in the heavens for a Whole day and Joshua Smote the Amorites hip and thigh. When Mclellen fought the Rebels Heaven held the Sun in the Northern Skies for a whole month of Dec. but Mclellen Smot not the Rebels in Stead thereof Had Several Reviews and Shot a Deserter.

But disparaging comments on McClellan are far exceeded both in number and in vigor by compliments. Points cited in "Little Mac's" favor were his consideration for the lives of his men—regardless of how armchair experts in Washington felt about the matter the man with the musket preferred maneuver to frontal assault—his soldierly appearance, his frequent trips about the camp, and his knowledge of strategy and tactics. Soldiers cheered McClellan until they were hoarse when he came out to meet them as they fell back after Second Manassas. And, following his removal after Antietam, one of them wrote: "We are all sad, and many a tearful eye, with such expressions as 'I dont care what becomes of us or our cause now.' " But the most effective soldier tribute paid to McClellan came long afterward, on the third day of Gettysburg when, as one private who was there put it:

We were almost ready to say we were beaten when an army runner galloped along the line shouting that George B. McClellan was coming with re-enforcements, and then an unearthly yell and a fearful charge drove the Johnnys entirely off the cemetery grounds and down the hill. . . . Although the re-enforcement story was a canard, McClellan's name saved the day for our troops.

The common soldiers made little comment in their letters and diaries about McDowell, Halleck, and Meade, and references to Pope had to do mainly with "Pope's Bull" as Yanks facetiously termed the grandiloquent order which he issued on assuming command of the Potomac Army. Burnside was generally regarded as well-meaning, but incompetent to lead an army. A seventeen-year-old private remarked: "I take Burnside at his word he says he cannot command such an army as this and I think he can not," while an older comrade blurted: "Little Mac used the spade at Yorktown, Burnside *stormed* at Fredericksburg," and "lost twenty thousand men." When General Howard proposed a cheer for Burnside as he rode down the lines shortly after Fredericksburg the only response from the old troops was, "Three cheers for McClellan."

Hooker was admired for the attention which he gave to the soldiers' food and comfort, and for his scrappiness in battle, but his reputation for excessive drinking counted against him among the rank and file. Sherman, who was called "Old Pap" by his men, eventually won a high place in soldier esteem though he does not appear to have been unusually popular before the triumphant march through Georgia.

Grant likewise elicited little acclaim in the first two years of the war and once, at least, he was openly scorned by a regiment on the march. But his unassuming manner, his tenacity, and his success in battle raised his stock to a high level, though he never caught the imagination of the rank and file as did McClellan. One of the highest compliments paid Grant by a common soldier was that of an Illinois private who wrote during the Vicksburg siege: "Gen. Grant came along the line last night he had on his old clothes & was alone. He sat down on the ground & talked with the boys with less reserve than many of a little puppy of a lieutenant."

Lesser generals for whom soldiers registered a high regard included Morgan L. Smith, A. J. Smith, Osterhaus, Rousseau, Kearny, Rosecrans, Hancock, whom they called the

"Kingpin," and Sumner, whose deep voice won for him the nickname "the Big Bull of Bashan." Generals rating low in the opinion of the rank and file were McCook, Hunter, Buell, and Banks. Following Banks's Texas expedition of October, 1863, a poetically inclined Yank scribbled:

Banks moves in a mysterious way  
His blunders to perform.  
He puts a fleet upon the sea  
To be scattered by the storm.

And the Red River fiasco the next year called forth from another soldier this verse:

Tis said that Banks has grown profane  
For once he dammed Red River;  
But in return that vengeful stream  
Has damned poor Banks forever.

Occasionally Billy Yank vented his wrath against the whole breed of generals, without specifying anyone in particular. "What a humbug most of our big Gen'ls are," wrote a Michigander in 1862. "They care as little for a man's life as a school boy for the meanest insects & I believe our Brigade Gen'l would sacrifice our whole regt . . . if by so doing he could put another star on his shoulder straps." A Vermonter about the same time wished "that every Gen. in the Union army were hung to the tree that Jeff Davice has been hung to for so long." "Shoot them all," he added, "and the war will soon be closed."

Some soldiers of the Army of the Potomac became so disgusted with the succession of sorry commanders as to cause them to look with envy at their gray-clad opponents. As Private Louis B. Edes expressed it just after Burnside's failure at Fredericksburg: "I think if the North could get General Stonewall Jackson to lead us, this war would be closed up in a hurry."

As much as Billy Yank liked to pass judgment on the generals, he had far more to say about officers of lower rank than





### BLUE MONDAY FOR BILLY YANK

These Union soldiers seem to be enjoying few of the comforts of home in their Civil War camp.

about the high brass. This is not surprising in view of the fact that he saw much more of regimental and company officers, and was much more directly affected by their activities.

In many instances common soldiers in their letters and diaries expressed admiration and respect for their lieutenants, captains, majors, and colonels. And these comments indicate that the qualities which endeared officers to men were the same in Civil War times as now: namely, familiarity with their duties; firmness and reserve in official matters, blended with

friendliness in the more personal relationships; integrity, or at least an impression of it; a deep and abiding interest in the welfare of their men; unselfishness; and, above all, courage in battle. Officers who met these tests had the loyal support of the overwhelming majority of their followers.

But letters and diaries contain far more criticism than approval of lower ranking officers. This excess of censure has to be taken with a grain of salt, for soldiers of all time have tended toward extravagance in disparaging their superiors, and as a rule they have achieved far greater eloquence in denunciation than in praise. Explanation of this circumstance is to be found in the fact that officers have to bear not only the weight of their own sins and shortcomings, but also they tend to become scapegoats for all the unpleasant aspects of army life, such as regimentation, discipline, deprivation of the comforts and associations of home, hardship, and the drear, drab monotony of soldiering.

Some of the Union soldiers who used their letters and diaries as safety valves for resentment cited specific grievances. An Illinoisan, for example, objected to the officers' subordination of duty to sinful pleasure. Lamenting the lack of preparedness of the garrison at Huntsville, Alabama, this man wrote:

Our commanders have been so presst with there Arderous duties of waiting on secesh women, yellow girls, and seeing to their wants subject to the craving of human nature and Riding Roun in Buggys and fine Carriages and Drinking. . . . I wish . . . one half of our officers were knocked in the head by slinging them Against A part of those still Left. We Could do better with the Remainder than with all.

A New Jersey sergeant, writing to his wife from Savannah, Georgia, in 1864, chose selfishness and highhandedness as the theme of his lament:

They don't care for anything but theirself. . . . The officers of this Regiment is the . . . meanest lots of curs this side of Hell. . . . You have no idea of what an Enlisted man has to put up with. . . . I get more cusing and damming than a little . . . We are white slaves.

A German-born Wisconsin corporal resented discrimina-



tion in punishment. He wrote, in May, 1863, after General Hooker's inglorious defeat at Chancellorsville:

Hooker proposes to introduce strict discipline. . . . For this reason fifteen men will be shot next week . . . and why? Of course because they did not do their duties. But when, as we have seen with our own eyes such gentlemen make mistakes, what then? The answer is: "Oh it is or was a mere mistake." . . . Take my word for it, the whole war from beginning to end is nothing but a humbug and a swindle.

Other soldiers, without registering bills of particulars, lashed out against the whole officer system. Private Charles A. Barker, of Massachusetts, who seems to have been a Civil War version of Bill Mauldin, wrote in 1862: "The officers consider themselves as made of a different material from the low fellows in the ranks." And the next year he complained: "They get all the glory and most of the pay and don't earn ten cents apiece on the average, the drunken rascals." Another private, George Gray Hunter, of Pennsylvania, in response to an inquiry as to his having a commission, hit the jackpot of disparagement:

I am very glad to Be able to inform you that I have Not . . . for if thare is one thing that I hate more than anothe[r] it is the Sight of a shoulder Strap, For I am well convinced in my own mind that had it not Been for officers this war would have Ended long ago.

While letters and diaries were the usual outlets for hostile comment, court-martial records reveal many instances of soldiers in rage, in liquor, or in both, telling officers off to their faces. Nor were manifestations of resentment confined to words. An unpopular colonel awoke one morning to find that the tail of his favorite horse had been shingled. Another officer narrowly escaped serious injury when a grapeshot, hurled by an aggrieved soldier, came flying through his tent at night, knocking over a candle. A considerable number of lieutenants and captains were pommeled with fists, seized by the whiskers, or otherwise roughly handled by men whose wrath caused them to transcend the bounds of discipline. An Illinois captain was killed by a sergeant whom he sought to punish. After the fatal shooting the sergeant remarked: "I killed him. The com-

pany wanted him killed . . . and I was the only man in the company who had the heart to do it." In numerous instances the men stated their intention of shooting officers when they went into battle or on release from military service. While it appears impossible to establish an instance of the threat being executed in combat, at least one case can be cited of a colonel having his skull crushed after returning to civilian life by a soldier who bore a grudge for a disciplinary measure enforced by the victim while on active duty.

With due allowance for warp and prejudice in soldier appraisals, the conclusion seems inescapable that the quality of officers in the Union Army left much to be desired. This was especially true in the early period of the war when personal popularity and political influence were the principal bases of officer selection, and when mobilization proceeded at such a rapid pace as to encourage indiscriminate commissioning. The practice of keeping regular army units intact, instead of promoting and distributing the personnel among volunteer units, also was a factor in poor leadership. In the early months of the war a colonel or a captain who could effectively maneuver his command was an exception, and one who possessed both military skill and a high order of leadership was something of a rarity.

The situation seems to have been considerably worse in the North than in the South, though both armies suffered greatly from the vogue of men electing their superiors. But in the Confederacy the system of social stratification tended to place in command persons who in civilian life were regarded as leaders and who, thanks to the fondness of upper classes for military schooling, often were familiar with the rudiments of soldiering. Indeed, it hardly seems too much to state that the better showing made by the South in the early campaigns was due mainly to an advantage in officers, especially in the lower grades. But the Confederacy's initial advantage in this respect seems to have disappeared by the end of the war's second year,

owing to heavy casualties among the Southern officers and the replacement in Northern units of defective officers by men who had proved their competency in the crucible of combat.

Deficiencies among the lower ranking Union officers are attested by a variety of evidence other than the comments of soldiers. Particularly damning are the court-martial findings and reports of inspection. These records reveal a shocking amount of dishonesty, drunkenness, neglect of duty, disrespect toward superiors, undue familiarity with enlisted men, absence without leave, and immorality.

Dishonesty ranged from the selling of soldier rations and equipment to large scale dealings in Confederate cotton. Concerning the latter a special representative of the War Department reported from Memphis in January, 1863: "Every colonel, captain and quartermaster is in secret partnership with some operator in cotton. . . . I had no conception of the extent of evil until I came and saw for myself."

Drunkenness while on duty or in public places was one of the most frequent causes of disciplinary action. In one instance an inspecting officer found it necessary to recommend dismissal of both the colonel and lieutenant colonel of a New York regiment for habitual intemperance. And a general court-martial found a Vermont lieutenant guilty not only of being drunk in his quarters when an attack was expected but also of selling liquor to his men from a stock kept in his tent for that purpose. Another court sentenced an Illinois lieutenant to dismissal from the service for selling whisky over a bar to soldiers in a St. Louis brothel, while in full uniform "including sash."

Court-martial proceedings record the cashiering of a considerable number of officers for gambling with their men, addressing their superiors in vulgar and obscene language, and showing cowardice in battle. A Pennsylvania captain was found guilty of murdering a fellow officer, for which crime he was sentenced to be shot.

Of moral delinquencies brought before courts-martial, association with lewd women was one of the most scandalous. Some officers were not above accompanying their men to houses of ill fame and one, even while in charge of a picket detail, took men of his command to a lewd establishment located near the Federal lines. A court-martial which sat at Memphis in March, 1863, found that an Indiana captain "has been a frequent visitor to the houses of ill fame in the city . . . during a long period and has thereby [contracted] . . . diseases, thus rendering himself unfit for duty for the last two months." A colonel of a Negro regiment kept harlots in his tent for several days at Ship Island, Mississippi, while a Massachusetts captain who entertained two prostitutes in his quarters at Carrollton, Louisiana, might have escaped disciplinary action had it not been for the fact that he invited fellow officers to attend the party without informing them of the character of the honor guests, and the women, responding apparently to the stimulus of alcohol and the urgings of their host, began to sing "vulgar and secession songs." Enlisted men of the regiment, attracted by the disloyal songs, gathered around the tent and protested so vigorously that the captain rushed out, sword in hand, and gave them a violent tongue lashing. This unbecoming conduct brought his dismissal from the service.

Evidence of officer deficiencies found in court-martial records and inspection reports is substantiated by the comments of high commanders. General McClellan wrote in July, 1862: "It is a melancholy fact that while many noble exceptions are to be found, the officers of volunteers are as a mass . . . greatly inferior to the men they command." And in January, 1863, a brigade commander of the Army of the Cumberland stated: "Our army is borne down by a lamentable weight of official incapacity in regimental organizations. . . . I saw upon the field [of Stone's River] company officers of over a year's standing who neither had the power to or knowledge how to form their men in two ranks."



Of course all this is not meant to leave the impression that most company and regimental officers were low characters or poor leaders. The officer corps from the beginning contained many men of outstanding integrity and ability, such as young Oliver Wendell Holmes, commissioned first lieutenant of infantry in July, 1861, following his graduation from Harvard. Study of officer diaries and letters reveals numerous instances of newly commissioned men earning their shoulder straps on the job by long and diligent study of military books and earnest application to their daily duties. As previously stated, the general quality of officers improved as the war progressed. By the time of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, a majority of the officers of the line seem to have been giving a good account of themselves.

The rank and file usually reacted favorably to effective leadership, though often reserving for themselves the time-honored privilege of in-group growling about the "shoulder straps." Approval of officers sometimes was registered in letters home, as for example when Private William O. Lyford, of the Fifth New Hampshire Regiment, wrote his mother:

Our company can beat them all. . . . Captain Rice has been to West Point and he knows more than any officer in the Brigade and we are proud of him. Even General Howard used to recite to him then. . . . I wish you could see him when he is out with us—He is the handsomest formed man that I ever saw and is so pleasant and willing to show us how to do anything and looks out that his men are all kept neat and clean. I would not be at home for anything, for I am learning more about military tactics than I ever knew.

An officer who endeared himself to his men by some act of kindness might win immediate and enthusiastic acclaim. Captain T. J. Wright, of a Kentucky regiment, on one occasion dared to protest the colonel's order to tie up by the thumbs for two hours a private who had committed a trivial offense. When the soldiers learned about the incident through a Negro cook who overheard the discussion, they lifted their champion to their shoulders and carried him to his quarters.

The loss of a beloved officer in combat was always an occasion of grief among the men. Typical reaction to such a tragedy was that indicated by a young Minnesota private who wrote after Antietam:

We very much regret the loss of our good and brave Captain. the boys thought all the world of him. We burried him at midnight the night after the Battle and for the life of me I could not help but think of the burriel of Sir John Moore.

Sometimes it took a battle to win full acceptance for an officer, particularly if he was a tough disciplinarian. After Seven Pines, Lieutenant Oliver Wendell Holmes, who had gallantly led his company in that engagement, wrote his father: "The men behaved like bricks through it all—I think my men like me—I have heard so— . . . My men cheered me after the fight." Even more to the point is the statement of Colonel John Beatty, of the Third Ohio Regiment, concerning the transformation experienced by his command during the autumn campaign of 1862 in Kentucky:

Many, perhaps most of the boys of the regiment disliked me thoroughly. They thought me too strict, too rigid in the enforcement of orders; but now they are without exception my fast friends. During the battle of Chaplin Hills, while the enemy's artillery was playing upon us with terrible effect, I ordered them to lie down. The shot, shell, and canister came thick as hail, hissing, exploding, and tearing up the ground around us. There was a universal cry from the boys that I should lie down also; but I continued to walk up and down the line, watching the approaching enemy, and replied to their entreaties, "No, it is my time to stand guard now and I will not lie down." Meeting Captain Loomis yesterday, he said: "Do you know you captured a regiment at Chaplin Hills?" "I do not." "Yes, you captured the Third. You have not a man now who wouldn't die for you."

The system of punishment applied in the Union Army was a major irritant in soldier-officer relations. The rank and file resented as cruel and unreasonable some of the penalties to which they were subjected, and they, no doubt, had abundant cause for grievance. It is not meant to imply that discipline was always harsh, for sentences meted out by courts-martial, especially in the early part of the war, for desertion, sleep-





### PUNISHMENT OF A WOULD-BE CAVALRYMAN

When this Billy Yank complained that he had enlisted in the cavalry and was forced to serve in the infantry, his commanding officer ordered a corporal to bring a "horse." This turned out to be a "wooden one with a not very generous allowance of back." Billy was set astride the rail with a heavy wooden "sabre" in his hands. After three or four hours of such punishment he was discharged from the "cavalry." The picture and story of this Civil War episode were published originally in *Harper's Weekly*, November 26, 1864.

ing while on guard duty, and insubordination were sometimes so light as to make mockery of justice and to bring stinging rebukes from higher officers who reviewed the proceedings.

The capriciousness of justice and the irresponsibility of those administering it were almost as objectionable to men in the ranks as the cruelty of some of the punishments. A soldier might be sentenced to death for an offense for which a month earlier one of his comrades had received only a light fine.

Most of the cruel and inhuman penalties were imposed as company punishments, without trial, by lower ranking officers

under authority implicit in command. Ordinarily punishments so imposed were for minor breaches of discipline, but in emergency serious offenses might be dealt with on the spot by commanding officers.

Occasionally unit commanders subjected offenders to flogging, carrying heavy weights such as logs for periods ranging from one to several hours, standing on one foot, confinement in the stocks, and strapping "spread-eagle" to a spare caisson wheel or end-gate of a wagon while the vehicle proceeded over rough roads. But most common company punishments were bucking, gagging, and tying up by the thumbs.

Bucking was the binding of a man's hands over his knees while in a sitting position, and gagging was accomplished by tying a stick or bayonet in his mouth. Harsh enough when gently applied, this punishment sometimes was made excessively brutal by undue prolongation and by the rough thrusting of large or sharp gags in the mouth, causing the mouth to bleed and producing great pain. Even more cruel was the suspension of a soldier by the thumbs for an hour or longer, with the toes barely touching the ground. Sometimes the tying up was for serious offenses, but in other instances men adjudged guilty of no greater fault than groaning at an unpopular officer were subjected to this barbarous punishment. Little wonder that soldiers sometimes openly revolted against such indignities.

Two specific cases will illustrate the brutality which men might suffer at the hands of sadistically inclined officers. In 1861, a court-martial found a captain guilty "without just cause" of cursing a private, striking him with a saber on the neck and head, causing the blood to flow profusely and then tying his hands and feet with a rope "and cruelly force a gag into his mouth so large as to forcibly strain the muscles of his whole face, and then throw him out upon the damp ground . . . in extremely cold weather." But this captain's action was mild in comparison with that of a lieutenant colonel of Negro troops who beat and kicked his men for failure to shine their

shoes and polish their buttons, and who for the offense of pilfering sweet corn, removed the shoes and stockings of soldiers, tied them down on the ground with arms and legs outstretched, and covered their faces, hands, and feet with molasses and left them exposed all day to the sun and flies.

Punishments imposed by courts-martial, while generally not as barbarous as those inflicted by officers on their own authority, were by no means consistently humane. In one instance a court sentenced a soldier found guilty of using disrespectful language toward his superior, to be stripped to the waist, tied to a caisson and struck forty times with a lash. But the most inhuman punishment meted out by courts-martial was branding with a red hot iron. Deserters most frequently suffered this penalty, with the letter "D" being burned in their cheek, shoulder, or hip; but occasionally cowards were branded with a "C," thieves with a "T," and chronic trouble-makers with a "W" for worthless.

Even more offensive to the rank and file than the brutality of punishments was the discrimination in favor of officers which characterized the disciplinary system. Not only did officers guilty of serious offenses such as cowardice, desertion, and theft frequently escape punishment by resigning, but in instances where they were brought to trial they often got off much more lightly than enlisted men charged with the same breaches of discipline. Then, since the making of arrests and preferring of charges was an exclusive officer function, the tendency sometimes existed of commissioned personnel considering themselves a mutual protective association with the result that violations which, if committed by soldiers, would have led to severe discipline, in the instance of officers were completely overlooked.

Discriminatory treatment by courts-martial is well exemplified by an incident which took place in the Army of the Potomac early in 1862. A private soldier called as a witness by a court-martial in Baltimore was found to be intoxicated.



The court sentenced him to ball and chain for thirty days. But when an officer appeared in the same condition he was excused from testifying and given no punishment. An even more striking example of the slanting of the disciplinary system in favor of officers is to be found in the action of two courts-martial which met at about the same time in 1864 in the Army of the Potomac. The one sentenced to be shot a private soldier who had abandoned his post in battle, while the other, on finding an officer guilty of the same offense, deemed cashiering a sufficient penalty. In 1861, a lieutenant who left his unit while it was under fire at first Manassas, drew the amazingly light sentence of fifteen days' suspension of rank and pay!

The total effect of capriciousness and inhumanity of punishment, inequality in discipline and the frequency of high-handedness, inefficiency, and moral delinquency among officers was to depress the morale of the enlisted men and to create in some of them an utter loathing of military service. The attitude registered by two enlisted men in their diaries is typical of that of many common soldiers. One, a sergeant, noted in the fall of 1862:

A soldier is not thought as much of by the officers as the meanest Greaser or the worst Secesh in the country. . . . This service is more degrading to one who has the least particle of manly pride than any menial work ever performed; instead of making us what we Enlisted for (Soldiers) they would make us . . . things to pick up, use, and throw down again.

The other, a private, stated in December, 1861: "Sometimes as I look at the conduct and incompetency of some of the Superior officers of the army, their tyrannical and abusive actions, I almost feel willing to let the 'Union Slide' and go to killing the officers who are not capable of commanding."

And the tenor of these statements made in the 1860's is not greatly different from that of many heard among the rank and file in World War II.

# FORT MASSAC: THE AMERICAN FRONTIER POST

1778-1805

BY NORMAN W. CALDWELL

FOR a generation after the abandonment of Fort Massac by the French (c. 1764), the site remained unoccupied by white men. The chief importance attached to the place in this period is the fact that it was the gateway for the route leading from the lower Ohio overland to Kaskaskia—a route commonly used by both white and red men.<sup>1</sup> A French writer who visited Fort Massac in 1796 has emphasized its importance to the Illinois country and the adjacent regions.<sup>2</sup> A traveler over this road was George Rogers Clark, who, accompanied by his band of Virginians, passed this way as he went to wrest the Illinois country from the English in the summer of

<sup>1</sup> Kaskaskians commonly called this trail "The Massac Road." See Land Deed, Sept. 19, 1809, Alpha Kingley to William Morrison, for a piece of property "Situate on the Massac Road—about Six miles from Kaskaskia." Randolph County, Circuit Court, Deed Record Book L, 183. This road is traced on the Hutchins Map of 1778 entitled, "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, etc. by Thomas Hutchins, Captain 60th. Regiment of Foot, 1778," copy in the National Archives. This map is reproduced in Sara J. Tucker, comp., *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country* (Springfield, 1942), Part I: Plate xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Victor Collot, "A Journey in North America," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1908* (Springfield, 1909), 275-76.

*This is the second of three articles on Fort Massac which Norman W. Caldwell has written for this Journal. The first appeared in the Summer issue and the third will be in the Spring, 1951, number. These articles were made possible, in part, by a research grant from Southern Illinois University, where the author is an associate professor of history.*

1778. The importance of the route in the economy of the Illinois country has not been studied by careful students and merits further attention.

After the Revolutionary War the Illinois country passed under the control of the Government of the Articles of Confederation and in 1789 into the hands of the present federal authority. One of the pressing problems faced by the new national government was the increasing hostility of the Indians in the area north of the Ohio River. Though territorial cessions had been made by the Indians in treaties signed in 1784 and 1785, the savages were reluctant to part with their lands, which were rapidly being occupied by American pioneers. Since the British had not withdrawn their troops from certain of the northwest posts, the Indians were accordingly encouraged to stiffen their front against the Americans. At the heart of the matter was the British control of the northwest fur trade, the savages looking to the British rather than to the Americans for most of their supplies and for a market for their furs. Under such circumstances, Indian depredations against American frontiersmen, especially in eastern Ohio, were increasing at an alarming rate. President Washington accepted the challenge, realizing that the prestige of the new government was at stake. The immediate results were humiliating defeats met by the expeditions of General Josiah Harmer and Governor Arthur St. Clair in 1790 and 1791.

Enraged by these fiascos, Washington turned to General Anthony Wayne and charged him with the responsibility of succeeding where his predecessors had failed. Slowly, but deliberately, Wayne set about his task, which involved the recruiting and training of a regular army force and the waging of a campaign calculated in terms of years rather than months. Wayne's strategy involved a penetration into the heart of the region north of the Ohio River on the one hand and the refortification of the site of Fort Massac on the other. In addition to the problem presented by the Indians at this time, the govern-

ment was also concerned with the "Genêt Affair," which had seriously affected national interests west of the mountains where certain "Frenchified" elements were active. A revived Fort Massac would tend to curb the activities of these people as well.<sup>3</sup>

Though the rebuilding of Fort Massac was considered in 1793, the matter was postponed until a favorable treaty had been signed with the Indians in the Wabash country.<sup>4</sup> Early in 1794 General Wayne received orders to refortify the site,<sup>5</sup> and he chose as the leader of the expedition charged with this task, Major Thomas Doyle of the First Sublegion.<sup>6</sup> Doyle was soon busy with preparations for the movement, which included the procurement of boats, tools, and a six-months' supply of

<sup>3</sup> George Rogers Clark and others had enlisted in Genêt's schemes. For a discussion of this point see Humphrey Marshall, *The History of Kentucky* (Frankfort, 1824), II: 117. General Wayne wrote to Major Thomas Doyle concerning the purpose of the proposed establishment: "Massac, being contiguous to avar [*sic*] path and a crossing place on the Ohio, leading from Indian towns on the Wabash river & its vicinity—, to settlements in the Southwestern Territory; your situation will have a tendency to check any incursions which may be meditated against these settlements by predatory parties of those Indians; and at the same time afford you an opportunity of assuring such as you may find well disposed of the friendship of the United States." Wayne to Doyle, May 9, 1794, MSS in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (Future references to these materials available in microfilm will be designated by "HSP.") Wayne was here following the instructions of the Secretary of War, who had stressed the importance of the proposed fort in counteracting Genêt's influence in the West. Extract, Secretary of War to Wayne, Mar. 31, 1794, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I: 458-59 (cited hereafter as "ASP"). Another writer has emphasized the rising importance of the river trade and the role a military post in that region could be expected to play in maintaining American control over the traffic. General Philip Reade, "Partial Military Biography and Alphabetical Arrangement of Officers of the Legion of the United States . . .," unpublished manuscript in the Filson Club, Louisville, Ky. (Referred to henceforth as "Reade MS.")

<sup>4</sup> Secretary of War to President, Mar. 20, 1793, in C. E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1936), IV: 243. A treaty of friendship had been signed with the Wabash Indians in 1792, but no land cession was involved. ASP, *Indian Relations*, I: 338. For a convenient summary of Indian cessions in Illinois, see Grant Foreman, "Illinois and Her Indians," *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1939* (Springfield, 1940), 67-111.

<sup>5</sup> Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country* (Springfield, 1920), 411, citing ASP, *Foreign Affairs*, I: 458.

<sup>6</sup> Writing to Doyle, Wayne asked: "How wou'd you like taking post low down the Ohio—(?)." Wayne to Doyle, Apr. 23, 1794, HSP. Three days later Doyle accepted the assignment and was soon busy preparing his force. Doyle had previously been on the site of Fort Massac. Wayne to Doyle, May 9, 1794; Doyle to Wayne, Apr. 26, 1794; Wayne to Doyle, May 1, 1794, all in HSP. In 1792 the regular army was reorganized into a "Legion," regimental organization being abandoned. The Legion was divided into four "Sub-Legions," which in turn were subdivided into battalions and companies. In 1796 the Legion was abolished and the conventional organization resumed. William A. Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army* (New York, 1942), 99, 103.



rations.<sup>7</sup> The contingent assembled for the expedition was made up of Captain Isaac Guion's company of the First Sub-legion plus a detachment of artillerymen.<sup>8</sup> Final preparations having been completed, the troops, accompanied by two contractors' boats, departed from Cincinnati on May 24, 1794.<sup>9</sup> The expedition passed the Rapids (at Louisville) on June 4, and eight days later arrived at the site of the old French fort.<sup>10</sup> In accordance with his instructions Doyle threw up temporary breastworks about one corner of the old French works and was soon in "a good posture of defense."<sup>11</sup> Having provided for temporary security, Doyle pursued the construction of the fort with such vigor that he was able to report the completion of the works by October 20, 1794.<sup>12</sup>

No adequate description of Fort Massac as rebuilt by the Americans has been found. The site is well known and the extent and position of the structure may still be traced by the

<sup>7</sup> Wayne to Doyle, May 7, 1794, HSP. The following tools and equipment were listed as being on hand at Fort Massac on Jan. 31, 1795, and quite likely indicate the sort of articles brought by Doyle's party. This list included tents, camp kettles, carpenters' and laborers' tools (planes, augers, gauges, chisels, square, compass, whip-saw, crosscut saw, handsaw, broadaxe, felling axes, pickaxes, froes, drawing knife, spades, hammers, a rule, wedges, mall rings, and files). Also listed are a smith's forge and iron (including files, an anvil, a sledge, hammers, tongs, and chisels). Six oxen, a wagon, 150 bushels of corn, two barges, and six sets of caulking irons were also listed. Return of Stores Tools &c belonging to the Quarter Masters department now in hand at Fort Massac Jany 31st 1794 (erroneously dated 1794, should be 1795), HSP.

<sup>8</sup> Wayne to Doyle May 7, 1794, HSP; General Orders, Greenville, May 6, 1794, Wayne Orderly Book No. 6, 22 (Filson Club); Wayne to Captain Guion, May 7, 1794, HSP. Guion's Company on May 11, 1794, was comprised of 59 men, including officers. Guion to Wayne, May 11-12, 1794, HSP. On June 30, 1794, Doyle reported 64 men present at Fort Massac, including sick and absent. Monthly Return of Majr. DoYLES Detachment at Fort Massac, June 30th, 1794, *ibid*.

<sup>9</sup> Wayne to Doyle, May 9, 1794; same to same, May 14, 1794; Doyle to Wayne, May 11, 1794, all in HSP. The date of the departure of the expedition is given in the "Journal of Benjamin Van Cleve," originally published in the *American Pioneer*, Vol. II: 148-53, 219-24, 293-96. The section titled "Rebuilding of Fort Massac," is printed on pages 220-22. Extracts from the Van Cleve Journal have been republished in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXIV, 741-46 and as an appendix to Mrs. Mathew T. Scott's "Old Fort Massac," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1903* (Springfield, 1904), 62-64. Van Cleve was a contractor's employee.

<sup>10</sup> Doyle to Wayne, June 4, 1794, HSP.

<sup>11</sup> Van Cleve's Journal, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1903, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> He announced progress as early as July 3, and a month later reported three blockhouses finished. Doyle to Wayne, July 3, 1794, HSP; Doyle to Wayne, Aug. 2, 1794, Wayne MSS, Library of Congress. On Oct. 20, Doyle sent Wayne a draft plan of the completed works which he called "the most regular and best defencable of any on the Ohio." Same to same, Oct. 20, 1794, HSP.

earthworks. Though the site itself was above the level of flood waters, the surrounding area was frequently inundated.<sup>13</sup> Collot states that the bank on which the Fort stood was about seventy-five feet above low water level. The Fort was placed so near the river bank (which was precipitous) that by the time Collot visited the place (1796) the two bastions facing the river were already in danger of being undermined by the caving of the river banks. A part of the ditch and palisade had already fallen into the river.<sup>14</sup>

The structure formed a rectangular enclosure of forty-six feet on a side, made of a palisade of upright logs about twenty feet high, the whole being surrounded by a ditch. At each corner was a bastion two stories high, which, in addition to its normal function, afforded space for barracks for the troops. The adjacent area, comprising some sixty acres, was cleared to afford a better view as well as to provide a parade ground for the troops. The armament of the Fort consisted of eight twelve-pounder cannon in 1796, but had been reduced by 1808 to a small brass howitzer and a brass carronade two-pounder.<sup>15</sup>

The name "Fort Massac" was given by the French and remained in official usage under American occupation. One

<sup>13</sup> See Estwick Evans, *A Pedestrious Tour, of Four Thousand Miles, through the Western States and Territories, during the Winter and Spring of 1818*, reprinted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), VIII: 292. Long states that at times when the Mississippi was high and the Ohio low the former stream "backed" the latter up as far as Fort Massac. S. H. Long, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains Performed in the Years 1819-1820* (London, 1823), in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1905), XIV: 92. Underwood called the site "a most butiful [sic] place." He mentions the elevation as being "high." *Journal, Thomas Taylor Underwood, March 26, 1792, to March 18, 1800* (Cincinnati, 1945), 21-22. Photostats from this journal now in the Filson Club have been compared with the printed copy. The original is in the Draper MSS, Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>14</sup> Collot, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1908, p. 276.

<sup>15</sup> Doyle carried a plan for building the fort, to which he presumably adhered. This plan has not been found, but some of the specifications are mentioned in Wayne's letter to Doyle of May 13, 1794, HSP. Doyle was to build "as good awork [sic] as the materials you can command." For later descriptions of the post, see W. B. Wait, ed., *Journal From Boston to the Western Country and down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans by William Richardson, 1815-1818* (New York, 1940), 17; F. Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* (Philadelphia, 1810) in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), IV: 277. Cuming admired the view and commented upon the beauty of the grounds, which contained a row of Lombardy poplars (p. 276).

writer, however, mentions that it was sometimes called locally "Fort Cheroquis."<sup>16</sup> According to Collot the corruption of the name Fort Massac to "Fort Massacre" was also common, especially among the French speaking people.<sup>17</sup>

The presence of the Americans at Fort Massac aroused the hostility of certain bands of Shawnee and Delaware Indians who roamed in that area. At the same time the Creeks and certain other southern tribes who used the Tennessee River as a highway for their forays into the north were also aroused.<sup>18</sup> Shortly after Doyle arrived at the site the Shawnee and Delaware called an assembly at Cape Girardeau in Spanish territory and later held a war council at New Madrid.<sup>19</sup> These Indians, however, were given no encouragement by the Spanish authorities at New Madrid, who assured Doyle of their friendship.<sup>20</sup> Fortunately Doyle procured the services of a young Shawnee brave named George, who knew eight Indian languages, and who seems to have acted as a liaison man between the whites and the near-by savages. George also supplied game to the troops.<sup>21</sup> The Chickasaw and Cherokee who frequented the Massac area in small numbers were generally friendly to the Americans. In October, 1794, Doyle reported that the Chickasaw were supplying plenty of game to the garrison, this being welcome to the troops who had lived for the most part up to

<sup>16</sup> "Journal of André Michaux, 1793-1796" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), III: 73.

<sup>17</sup> Collot, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1908, p. 275. For the "Massacre" story and its relation to the name of the post, see "Fort Massac during the French and Indian War" (Part I of this study, Summer Journal, 1950). Cuming was perhaps the earliest writer to record the "Massacre" story. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV: 277. See also Edmund Flagg, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1906), XXVI: 78.

<sup>18</sup> Doyle was uneasy about the Indian situation from the beginning, considering himself without full authority to treat with the savages. Doyle to Wayne, May 11, 20, 1794, HSP. In the latter letter he states: "I am unauthorised at present to give them a Ration or any other Article of public property."

<sup>19</sup> Doyle to Wayne, July 3, 1794, HSP; same to same, Aug. 2, 1794, Wayne MSS, Library of Congress.

<sup>20</sup> Captain Thomas Portell, Commanding the District of New Madrid, to Doyle, July 1 (?), 1794; Doyle to Portell, July 6, 1794, Wayne MSS. At this time Doyle reported that one of his men, a waiter, had been seized by the savages.

<sup>21</sup> Doyle to Wayne, Aug. 23, 1795, Wayne MSS.



that time on salt provisions.<sup>22</sup> Early in 1795 Doyle had a small band of Cherokee living near the post.<sup>23</sup>

Serious troubles were brewing, however, with both northern and southern tribes. In October, 1794, a contractor's barge was captured by a band of Creeks just below the Fort and rumors of a general attack on the settlements in the Cumberland Valley were abroad. Doyle, whose effective garrison was greatly reduced by illness and expiring enlistments, sought reinforcements from the governor of Tennessee, who sent a small force of militia to Fort Massac for temporary duty.<sup>24</sup> Doyle was also obliged to detain in the service men whose enlistments had expired in order to keep up his dwindling strength. (By June, 1795, Doyle's force was down to forty men.)<sup>25</sup> News of the suspension of hostilities between Wayne and the northwestern tribes was heartening to Doyle, but the early months of 1795 brought new dangers.<sup>26</sup> In February he was expecting "a visit" from the Creeks and the Cherokee.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Doyle to Wayne, Oct. 20, 1794, HSP.

<sup>23</sup> Doyle to Adjutant General, Mar. 23, 1795, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1795, Box no. 6. (Unless otherwise specified all references to military documents used in this article are taken from the Old Records Division of the Adjutant General's Office, now in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.) A Cherokee chief at that time talked to Doyle about making a general peace with the Americans, but nothing seems to have come of this. Doyle to Wayne, Feb. 8, 1795, HSP.

<sup>24</sup> Doyle to Wayne, Oct. 20, 1794, HSP. The War Department was aware of Doyle's situation and had determined to re-enforce him as early as June 25, 1794. Secretary of War to President, same date, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II: 487. Doyle especially emphasized the need of gunboats to command the shore opposite the Fort. He requested a "Strong Gundalo [*sic*] carrying a 3 pounder." Doyle to Wayne, Aug. 2, 1794, Wayne MSS. As for supplies for Indian presents, Doyle requested whisky and corn. Request for Supplies at Massac, Oct. 23, 1794, HSP; Doyle to General James Robertson, Sept. 19, 1794, ASP, *Indian Affairs*, I: 531; James Robertson to Governor Blount, Oct. 8, 1794, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, IV: 359; Blount to Secretary of War, Oct. 24, 1794, *ibid.*, 361; Blount to Robertson, Nov. 22, 1794, *ibid.*, 372. Doyle requested "woodsmen," meaning "scouts." The Tennesseans arrived on Oct. 19, and returned home on Nov. 9, Doyle to Wayne, Feb. 8, 1795, HSP; Doyle to Robertson, Oct. ——— (?), 1794, ASP, *Indian Affairs*, I: 540. Previous to the arrival of the Tennesseans, the garrison at Massac consisted of 59 men, including 21 men sick. Monthly Return for Sept., 1794. See also returns for July 31, and Oct. 25, 1794. The return for Jan. 31, 1795, makes no mention of the Tennesseans.

<sup>25</sup> Doyle to Wayne, Apr. 15, 1795, Wayne MSS; Monthly Returns, May 31, June 30, July 31, Aug. 31, Sept. 30, and Oct. 31, 1795. At this time a shortage of clothing was reported at the post. Items requested were coats, vests, shirts, overalls, clasps, shoes, blankets, and epaulettes. Return of Clothing Wanting to Complete Lt. Gregg's Detachment at Fort Massac July 20th, 1795, HSP.

<sup>26</sup> Wayne to Doyle, Jan. 31, 1795, HSP.

<sup>27</sup> Doyle to Wayne, Feb. 8, 1795, *ibid.*

In April the hideous massacre of the Chew Party on the Ohio a few miles above Fort Massac presented the most serious act of hostility yet perpetrated by the savages in that area.<sup>28</sup> Not until December, 1795, when strong reinforcements reached Fort Massac, was the situation eased, the command of the post passing at that time to Captain Zebulon Pike.<sup>29</sup>

Trouble continued, however, and in the following year another massacre occurred near the present site of Grand Tower, Illinois.<sup>30</sup> In the meantime the Potawatomi or Kickapoo had made an attack on some Cherokee and Chickasaw camped near the mouth of the Tennessee. As a result of this affair Pike says he was forced to employ all his "Rhetorick" to prevent a general war from breaking out between these tribes. Some Chickasaw did kill a Piankashaw squaw who was living with a white woman near the post.<sup>31</sup> Underwood, however, mentions lively trading as being carried on at Massac at this

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<sup>28</sup> Eighteen lives were lost, including those of Colonel Samuel Chew, a prominent Marylander, four white men, a white woman and child, and eleven slaves. A detachment from Massac visited the site and recovered Chew's body, which was interred at the Fort. The Colonel's papers and effects were also partly recovered. The Indians who perpetrated this deed were thought to be a large band of Kickapoo and Potawatomi, and were thus northern Indians. Report of Surgeon's Mate Hammill to Doyle, Apr. 30, 1795; Doyle to Wayne, June 25, 1795, both in HSP. Hammill was with the party which visited the scene of the massacre.

<sup>29</sup> Zebulon Pike died in 1834. He was the father of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, the explorer, who died in 1813. The younger Pike, however, then a subaltern, was with his father at Fort Massac. *Underwood Journal*, 21. Underwood relates how young Pike saved his father from drowning in the river at Massac in 1796, after a boat in which they were riding capsized. *Ibid.*, 25. Pike got his orders to move to Fort Massac late in November and probably arrived there in the following month. Wayne to Pike, Nov. 29, 1795, HSP. Underwood, who accompanied Pike, erroneously states that they arrived in September. *Underwood Journal*, 21. These men were from the remainder of Captain Guion's company of the Third Sub-Legion and all of Captain Pike's company of the same organization. Nine artillerymen were also sent. General Orders, Greenville, Nov. 3, 1795, Wayne Orderly Book, Vol. VIII, in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, Vol. XXXIV: 650-51. Doyle left Fort Massac in June, 1795, the command devolving temporarily to Lieutenant Aaron Gregg.

<sup>30</sup> Killed in this massacre were a Mr. Chalfin, his wife and six children, and another white man and woman. Two other members of the party escaped. Pike to Wayne and Wilkinson, Apr. 12, 1796, HSP. The Indians who had committed this crime were pursued, without being overtaken, by a militia company from Kaskaskia commanded by Captain Durion. Pike to Wayne, July 5, 1796, HSP. At this time Pike feared a general attack by the Creeks. Pike to Wayne, Aug. 6, 1796, HSP.

<sup>31</sup> Pike to Wilkinson, July 3, 1796; Pike to Wayne, July 5, 1796, both in HSP. These women were probably camp followers. In August, Pike warned the American officer at Vincennes, Captain Pasteur, of hostile Indian movements in that area. Pike to Pasteur (extract), Aug. 30, 1796, HSP.

time between the Americans and Choctaw, Cherokee, and Chickasaw, the Indians trading venison hams and bear's oil to the troops for flour.<sup>32</sup>

By this time Captain Pike had effected extensive repairs at the Fort and had extended the works as laid out the year before. Enlistments had also increased the effective force.<sup>33</sup>

In the meantime the Massac authorities were also concerned with relations with the Spanish. The latter had supposedly remained neutral in reference to Indian affairs; however, the Americans did not cease to fear Spanish intrigue and from the outset General Wayne had instructed Major Doyle to "take care that no mistake is made but guard against Surprise & aggression."<sup>34</sup> Spanish territory early became a refuge for American deserters from Fort Massac and other nearby posts. The Massac authorities were constantly occupied with this problem, and in July, 1796, a detail from the Fort followed three deserters to New Madrid. There the sergeant called upon the Spanish commandant, Captain Thomas Portell, who, though he permitted the Americans to search for the men, refused to allow them to be taken away against their will. Two of the men were retaken.<sup>35</sup> At about the same time an American soldier en route to New Orleans killed a Negro at New

<sup>32</sup> *Underwood Journal*, 25. He says, "Te [*sic*] oil is fine to fry any thing."

<sup>33</sup> Underwood says 100 men accompanied Pike's group. *Underwood Journal*, 21. Doyle had asked for this number in his letter to Wayne of July 3, 1794, HSP. Lieutenant Gregg had re-enlisted some of Doyle's original force. Doyle to Wayne, Feb. 8, 1795, *ibid.* The forces on Feb. 1, 1796, comprised ten artillerists and two companies of the Third Sub-Legion, and one cavalryman, totaling 92 men. Monthly Return of Troops, Feb. 1, 1796. The return of Apr. 12, 1796, showed 98 men on duty, that for May, 95. Men listed as being on extra duty were: one as an armorer, one as a waggoner, one as a brickmaker, one as a blacksmith, and three as carpenters. Returns for June and July, 1796, show approximately the same figures. In 1796 a battalion of infantry and one company of artillery were allotted to man the posts on the Wabash, Fort Massac, Chickasaw Bluffs, and Natchez. Military Stations, 1796, ASP, *Military Affairs*, I: 113. The repairs effected by Pike included the setting up of pickets about the fort and the digging of a ditch four feet deep and ten feet wide. A number of "Abetees" (abatis) were also constructed. *Underwood Journal*, 21.

<sup>34</sup> Wayne to Doyle, May 26, 1794, HSP.

<sup>35</sup> Doyle to Wayne, July 3, 1794; Pike to Wayne, Aug. 6, 1796, both in HSP. Pike reported at this time that during his administration at Massac to that date eight men had made good their escape by desertion. See also Pike to Wayne and Wilkinson, Apr. 12, 1796, *ibid.* In this earlier letter Pike listed the deserters as four in number. The sergeant in charge of the detail was young Zebulon Montgomery Pike.



Madrid. The Spanish commandant, however, turned the soldier over to the Americans for justice.<sup>36</sup>

There seems to be no question but that Captain Portell and Captain Don Louis Lorimier, who was in charge of Indian affairs in the New Madrid district, were fairly well disposed toward the Americans. However, the fact that the Spanish patrolled the Mississippi with an armed vessel as far north as the mouth of the Ohio kept the Massac officials uneasy. The Spanish were also said to be free with Indian presents.<sup>37</sup> When Pike took command of the post, Wayne sent a special message to Governor Gayoso at New Orleans to reassure him of the good intentions of the Americans.<sup>38</sup> The Spanish, however, accused Pike of mistreating a Spanish officer and party who visited Fort Massac in the spring of 1796. This matter was made the subject of an official protest by the Spanish legation in Washington.<sup>39</sup>

It was also rumored at this time that the Spanish were planning to abandon the post at New Madrid and build a new fort nearer the mouth of the Ohio. Floods in the spring of 1796 had all but washed away the New Madrid installations. In August, 1796, Pike believed that "they Contemplate Building opposite the conflux of the Ohio with Mississippi." It was also rumored that the Spanish had located a large sawmill on the Mississippi just above the mouth of the Ohio and were

<sup>36</sup> The Negro, James Dorsey, had a criminal record. Among other crimes, he had robbed General St. Clair at one time. Also he had escaped from jail in Cincinnati. The soldier, Jacob Lee, pled self defense. Nothing further is heard of the matter. Pike to Wayne and Wilkinson, Apr. 12, 1796, HSP.

<sup>37</sup> Doyle to Wayne, Oct. 20, 1794, HSP.

<sup>38</sup> Wayne to Pike, Nov. 29, 1795, HSP. Pike to Wayne, Apr. 12, 1796, *ibid*. Pike states that Gayoso seemed well disposed toward the United States.

<sup>39</sup> Just what Pike did that offended the officer is not clear. Underwood writes that the Spanish made their visit in March, arriving in a galley pulled by eighteen oars on each side and commanded by a Captain Dondecozo. Pike entertained the officers and both sides fired salutes as the galley left. *Underwood Journal*, 24. Pike refers to a Lieutenant Ferrusolo, a member of the Spanish party, as being a person "very Tenacious and not capable of candour," from which it may be assumed a personal matter arose between these two men. Wayne ordered Pike to explain the matter to the Secretary of State as well as to himself. Pike to Wayne, Aug. 6, 1796, HSP; Wayne to Pike, July 6, 1796, *ibid*. Pike was further ordered "to receive & treat there [*sic*] flag with due respect agreeably to the rule outlined in the Secretary of States letter of the 10th June 1796; & which is founded upon the Law of Nations."

offering high wages to entice American workmen to come there.<sup>40</sup> At this time also the Spanish pursued a definite policy of trying to woo Americans to emigrate from the eastern banks of the river and settle in Spanish territory. Many Indians did emigrate to the Spanish side, according to Pike.<sup>41</sup>

Under these circumstances the question of strengthening Fort Massac arose. General Wayne was evidently concerned over General James Wilkinson's relations with the Spanish and there is evidence that the two men disagreed over strengthening the Fort.<sup>42</sup> That Wilkinson actually plotted with the Spanish for their seizure of Fort Massac in the so-called "Tom Powers Plot" is commonly alleged. Under this plan the Fort was to be taken by the Spanish and mounted with twenty guns. The plotters were also to have a sum of \$100,000 for raising and maintaining forces there.<sup>43</sup> Powers stopped at Massac in late July, 1796, with a cargo of groceries and tobacco, evidently carrying messages to Wilkinson and his friends. Pike allowed Powers and one of his associates, Zachariah Cox, to pass unmolested.<sup>44</sup> General Wayne was aware of Powers' mission and strongly suspected Wilkinson's relationship with the Spanish.<sup>45</sup> Powers' interview with Wilkinson at Greenville and his return to New Madrid under military escort are well known to students of the period. Wilkinson says he ordered an American officer to escort Powers back to New

<sup>40</sup> Pike to Wayne, July 5, 1796; Aug. 6, 1796, HSP. He also refers to Spanish activity in the neighborhood of Chickasaw Bluffs (present Memphis).

<sup>41</sup> Pike to Wayne, Aug. 6, 1796, HSP. See also Max Savelle, "The Founding of New Madrid, Missouri," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, no. 1 (June, 1932), 30-56.

<sup>42</sup> Pike to Wilkinson, July 3, 1796; Wayne to Pike, Sept. 2, 1796, HSP. Wayne ordered certain military stores to be sent to the Fort "together with a Six pounder & a quantity of Ammunition." Wayne to Pike, July 6, 1796, HSP.

<sup>43</sup> Reade MS, 217; Thomas S. Hinde, "National and Western Conspiracies," *American Pioneer*, Vol. II (1843), 278-82; Mann Butler, *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1836), 246; Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, II: 228.

<sup>44</sup> Pike to Wayne, Aug. 6, 1796, HSP; Reade MS, 93.

<sup>45</sup> In a letter to Pike, Wayne says that "the Caitiff P . . . r—Secreted his Criminal embassy—and price of perfidy—received at New Madrid—by being packed in the centre of barrels of Coffee, Sugar, Rice, & with tobacco, & then screwed down & headed—which got safe into the hands of the Person [i.e. Wilkinson] for whom it was intended." Wayne to Pike, Aug. 6, 1796, HSP. Wayne ordered Pike to continue to treat the Spanish flag with respect and "delicacy."

Madrid because Powers had diplomatic status and had been interfered with on his way. Captain Pike was ordered to clear Powers and his escort as they passed Fort Massac.<sup>46</sup>

Crossing the track of Powers and Cox was the trail of the two French agents, Collot and Warren. These men, traveling under instructions from the French minister in Washington, Adet, were exploring the situation in the west relative to French plans to resume control of Louisiana.<sup>47</sup> When, therefore, the Frenchmen arrived at Massac, Pike placed them under arrest. Collot's printed version of the reasons for his arrest does not agree with the statement of Pike, who accused the Frenchmen of seditious activities against the American government. Though Collot's papers were seized, they could not be studied because no one at the Fort knew French! Pike at first considered holding the Frenchmen until the papers could be sent to Philadelphia for inspection, but was persuaded that this would be unreasonable. In the end the Frenchmen were released on condition that Captain James Taylor accompany them as long as they traveled within American territory.<sup>48</sup> The result of the Collot affair was the issuance of new and more stringent instructions to post commandants regulating the visits of strangers to military posts.<sup>49</sup>

Fears of French intrigue in the Northwest Territory caused concern in military circles lest the French people about Kaskaskia and Cahokia be led to break their allegiance to the

<sup>46</sup> James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times* (Philadelphia, 1816), II: 219; Powers' Narrative, Dec. 5, 1797, *ibid.*, Appendix.

<sup>47</sup> General Wayne had already warned Pike to watch for these men. Wayne to Pike, May 28, 1796, HSP. A special officer, Captain James Taylor, was posted at Massac to await their appearance. For a discussion of Collot's journey, see Arthur B. Darling, *Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803* (New Haven, 1940), 249 ff. See also Wayne to Pike, July 6, 1796, HSP.

<sup>48</sup> Collot in *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1908, p. 276; Pike to Collot and Warren, July 26, 1796, HSP. Collot bore no ill will against Pike, whom he thought influenced by "the jealous suggestions of some persons who surrounded him." See also Collot to Pike, Aug. 12, 1796, HSP. At Kaskaskia Collot made pretense of seeking justice for the "insult" against him. *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Rules and Regulations relative to Maritime and frontier Posts or fortified places, Mar. 26, 1797, Military Book, III: 151-53. (Military Book no. 3 covers "Letters Sent" from the War Office for the period Feb. 28, 1807, to Mar. 28, 1809. This order of 1797 is quoted for reference.)



United States. General James Wilkinson (commandant in the West after the death of General Wayne in 1796) contemplated establishing a military post at Kaskaskia in 1797 but was given no authorization to that end. In September, 1797, upon receipt of a call from Kaskaskia for aid, the General decided on his own initiative to visit that place in person and to provide arms and munitions at Fort Massac "for arming and equipping the virtuous citizens." The territorial government in the meantime had called out militia units. Wilkinson planned a meeting with Kaskaskia leaders at Fort Massac for October 20, 1797, but it is not clear whether this meeting was held.<sup>50</sup> New shipments of ordnance and munitions were sent to Fort Massac at about this time.<sup>51</sup> The Fort was also put on special status for making returns.<sup>52</sup> Another measure taken was to send additional troops to Fort Massac, these men belonging to the Third Regiment of Infantry formerly posted in Tennessee.<sup>53</sup>

The year 1798 saw continued bad relations with the French. After the "X Y Z Affair" in 1797, diplomatic relations between the United States and France were temporarily broken off, and war seemed certain. In fact, the two nations were actually carrying on an undeclared war on the seas. Fort Massac continued to receive artillery and munitions to supply the forces being raised.<sup>54</sup> General Wilkinson spent some time

<sup>50</sup> Wilkinson to John Edgar and William St. Clair, Sept. 14, 1797, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, II: 627; Militia Orders, Sept. 22, 1797, Jan. 30, 1798, *Territorial Papers*, III: 486-87, 499-500.

<sup>51</sup> These guns and munitions, gathered from Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and other near-by points, included three brass nine-pounder cannon, two brass five and one-half inch howitzers (including cartridges and shot), twelve barrels of cannon powder, and 5,000 musket cartridges. Cannon and Stores to be Sent to Pittsburg for Fort Massac, July 20, 1797, in War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1797, Box 9. According to Mrs. Scott, some clothing was also sent. *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1903, p. 60.

<sup>52</sup> General Orders, Headquarters Camp on the Wabash, Nov. 3, 1797, Wilkinson Order Book, 1797-1808, p. 95. (Wilkinson was at this time in the vicinity of Fort Massac.)

<sup>53</sup> "On receipt of this Letter you are immediately to take the measures for preparing small crafts sufficient to bear the Detachment of the 3<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, Station'd in the State of Tennessee, & its Baggage to Fort Massac." This movement was to be kept secret. Order to General Wilkinson, June 4, 1797, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1797-1798, Box 10.

<sup>54</sup> From Apr. to June, 1798, Isaac Craig, Deputy Quartermaster General at Pitts-

at this post in July and August, 1798, inspecting the troops.<sup>55</sup> Captain Pike, who had taken a detachment from Fort Massac to fortify a point on the lower Tennessee River, was ordered to destroy his works and return to Fort Massac at this time.<sup>56</sup> It had not been thought necessary, however, to send regular troops to Kaskaskia; indeed the civil courts continued to function without the protection of soldiers. One judge was assured, however, that an escort from Fort Massac would be provided him in case of necessity.<sup>57</sup> Fears of a French plot at Kaskaskia gradually subsided.

In 1799 the region about Fort Massac became the focus of high military strategy. Alexander Hamilton, having been commissioned major general in the new army being raised by the government in preparation for war against the French, laid plans in conjunction with General Wilkinson for the assembling of a large military force on the lower Ohio with the intention of launching an offensive against Louisiana in case France should secure the retrocession of that province from Spain. Orders were given to prepare for the provisioning of 1,000 men at Fort Massac, and this post was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Southern Department to that of the Northern Department, which was under Hamilton's command.

In the end, however, Fort Massac was not chosen as the site and the new "Cantonment Wilkinsonville" was erected early in 1801 at a site twelve miles farther down the river at the head of the Grand Chain. After the erection of Cantonment Wilkinsonville, Fort Massac was temporarily abandoned

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burg, issued two iron 24-pounder cannon, two 8-inch brass howitzers (with carriages, ramrods, etc. as well as shot for these guns), 46 barrels of cannon powder, 50 barrels of musket powder, and 4 barrels of rifle powder, all to be sent to Fort Massac. Abstract of Military Stores issued at Pittsburg, Apr.-June, 1798, by Isaac Craig, Deputy Quartermaster General, in War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1797-1798, Box 10.

<sup>55</sup> See various orders, July 31-Aug. 7, 1798, Wilkinson Order Book, 124-25. These are the inclusive dates of the General's stay at the Fort.

<sup>56</sup> General Order, Aug. 1, 1798, Wilkinson Order Book, 124-25.

<sup>57</sup> Winthrop Sargent to Judge Symmes, Jan. 14, 1798, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, III: 498.



(May, 1801) as a military installation, its garrison and property being moved to the new post.<sup>58</sup>

Cantonment Wilkinsonville was short-lived. In the first place President John Adams, in 1800, had finally succeeded in arranging a satisfactory treaty with the French government, which, under the hands of a new master, Napoleon Bonaparte, had suddenly reversed its policy of hostility toward the United States. Secondly, Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated President in 1801, and he had no desire to continue the establishment Hamilton had created.<sup>59</sup> Seizing the excuse that the site at Wilkinsonville was very unhealthful, the Secretary of War ordered the place evacuated in the summer of 1801. In 1802 a company of the First Regiment of Infantry, commanded by Captain Daniel Bissell, was ordered to re-occupy Fort Massac.<sup>60</sup> Pending the arrival of Captain Bissell at the Fort, Lieutenant D. Hughes assumed the command.<sup>61</sup>

In 1802 permanent post regulations were issued for the garrison at Fort Massac along with commissions for the officers and a post surgeon.<sup>62</sup> Captain Bissell was charged with the care of government property at Wilkinsonville and other places in the vicinity which had been occupied temporarily by United

<sup>58</sup> This account of events in the period 1799-1801, is summarized from the author's "Cantonment Wilkinsonville," *Mid-America*, Vol. XXXI, no. 1 (Jan., 1949), 3-28. This article treats in detail military affairs in the Fort Massac area for the period.

<sup>59</sup> Hamilton had already resigned from the Army before the new post was built.

<sup>60</sup> For the liquidation of Wilkinsonville, see the author's "Cantonment Wilkinsonville," *Mid-America*, Jan., 1949, pp. 3-28. See also Inspector General to Captain Richard H. Groaton, Commanding Officer at Wilkinsonville, Mar. 1, 1802, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Sept., 1800-Apr., 1803, p. 242; same to Lieutenant John Whipple, Apr. 9, 1802, *ibid.*, 277, (providing for the reoccupation of Fort Massac); same to Captain Groaton, Apr. 9, 1802, *ibid.*, 278. Groaton was ordered to surrender post records and troops to Whipple who would dispose of them according to orders. Others of the troops at Wilkinsonville were sent to Southwest Point, Tennessee. Same to Captain Francis Johnston, Apr. 6, 1802, *ibid.*, 270. In spite of general reductions in the army, good men were ordered re-enlisted. Same to various commanding officers, Dec. 9, 1802, *ibid.*, 382-83. In the reshuffling of troops which took place at this time single companies of infantry were posted at Vincennes and at Fort Massac. Two companies of infantry and one of artillery were posted at Southwest Point in Tennessee and one company of artillery at Chickasaw Bluffs. "Estimate of all the Posts and Stations where garrisons will be expedient," Dec. 23, 1801, ASP, *Military Affairs*, I: 156.

<sup>61</sup> Inspector General to Lieutenant John Whipple, Apr. 9, 1802, in Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Sept., 1800-Apr., 1803, p. 242.

<sup>62</sup> Inspector General to Captain D. Bissell, Apr. 29, 1802, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Sept., 1800-Apr., 1803, p. 289.

States troops. Some of this property was probably removed to Fort Massac—at least such removals were authorized.<sup>63</sup> After the liquidation of Wilkinsonville Bissell settled down to a long tenure as commandant of Fort Massac. He would not leave that command until 1808.

At this time President Jefferson became much concerned over the retrocession of Louisiana to France and the closing by Louisiana authorities of the Mississippi trade route. This situation became explosive and early in 1803 rumors were abroad that an armed force was being gathered in the west for an attack on Louisiana. The commanding officers at Fort Massac and other river posts were ordered to oppose any such force found descending the rivers “by all the prudent means in your power.”<sup>64</sup>

The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 brought a fortunate solution to the western problem. Captain Bissell undoubtedly expected to participate in the occupation of the new province,<sup>65</sup> but this was carried out under Wilkinson and Jackson with the use of other troops.<sup>66</sup> Bissell later expected to be sent to occupy New Madrid and early in 1804 was awaiting orders accordingly.<sup>67</sup> It is likely that a detachment from Fort Massac did occupy New Madrid sometime in 1804.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Inspector General to Captain Bissell; June 4, 1802, *ibid.*, 303. For the next two years Fort Massac served as a center for recruiting activities in that area. A recruiting office was also established at Nashville at this time. Inspector General to Captain D. Bissell, Jan. 18, 1803, *ibid.*, 402; same to Daniel Vertner, Jan. 18, 1803, *ibid.*, 404; Inspector General to Lieutenant Daniel Hughes, Aug. 23, 1803, *ibid.*, 184. By mid-November Hughes was back at Fort Massac clearing up his accounts. Hughes to Secretary of War, Nov. 19, 1803, War Office, Letters Received, II: 104; same to same, Dec. 6, 1803, enclosing his recruiting accounts, *ibid.*, 105.

<sup>64</sup> Inspector General to Commandants at Forts Fayette, Massac, Pickering, and Adams, Feb. 23, 1803, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Sept., 1800-Apr., 1803, p. 433. This rumor, a predecessor of the Burr Plot of 1806-7, merits further investigation. At this time the garrison at Fort Pickering (present Memphis) was reinforced by a Massac detachment and a full company was posted at Kaskaskia.

<sup>65</sup> Bissell to Secretary of War, Apr. 26, May 9, 1803, War Office, Letters Received, II: 18; Secretary of War to Bissell, Oct. 5, 1803, War Office, Military Book, IV: 111. The strength of Bissell's company on Dec. 31, 1803, was 78, including officers. General Return of the Army, 1803, ASP, *Military Affairs*, I: 175.

<sup>66</sup> Secretary of War to Jackson, Oct. 31, 1803, War Office, Military Book, 1800-1803, pp. 555-56.

<sup>67</sup> Bissell to Secretary of War, Jan. 7, 1804, War Office, Letters Received, II: 24. On Mar. 28, he wrote again “relative to taking possession of the Military posts in the district of New Madrid [Louisiana].” *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>68</sup> In July, 1804, Bissell submitted to the Secretary of War a sketch of the town

Early in 1805 military headquarters for the western regions were transferred to St. Louis in newly occupied Louisiana. Western garrisons, including those at Fort Massac and Kaskaskia, henceforth reported to the St. Louis headquarters rather than to Washington or Pittsburg as had formerly been the case.<sup>69</sup> At this time Bissell's company was transferred to the lower Mississippi, and another company commanded by Lieutenant Nathan Heald occupied Fort Massac.<sup>70</sup> General Wilkinson visited Fort Massac in connection with these changes.<sup>71</sup> And then, late in 1805, Captain Bissell resumed his command at Fort Massac.<sup>72</sup>

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of New Madrid. Letter of July 17, 1804, War Office, Letters Received, II: 27. A letter from the Inspector General written in Dec., 1804, refers to Bissell's company as being at Massac "and at New Madrid." Inspector General to Captain Bissell, Dec. 7, 1804, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Dec. 10, 1803-Feb. 10, 1805, unnumbered pages.

<sup>69</sup> General Orders, Mar. 19, 1805, Wilkinson Order Book, 529.

<sup>70</sup> Inspector General to Lieutenant Heald, Apr. 28, 1805, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Feb. 12, 1805-Sept. 4, 1809, unnumbered pages.

<sup>71</sup> General Orders, Headquarters, Fort Massac, June 5, 8, 1805, *ibid.*, 543; Inspector General to Captain Bissell, Dec. 7, 1804, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Dec. 10, 1803-Feb. 10, 1805, unnumbered pages. Wilkinson remained at Fort Massac from June 4 to 17, 1805. Order Book, 542-46.

<sup>72</sup> Wilkinson to Commanding Officer, Fort Adams, June 10, 1805, Wilkinson MSS, 1796-1806, Library of Congress. See also General Orders, St. Louis, Nov. 25, 1805, Wilkinson Order Book, 567. The fact that no clothing return was made for Fort Massac for the year 1805 may indicate that there were few or no troops present at the post in Bissell's absence. Schedule of clothing that would probably be on hand the 1st Dec., 1805, at the different posts and places, showing the Several Companies, agreeably to the Returns made to this Office. War Office, Military Book, Nov. 17, 1803-Feb. 28, 1807, pp. 396-97. Massac is marked "No Return" in this report. By December, Bissell was again at Fort Massac. Inspector General to Captain Bissell, Dec. 11, 1805, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Feb. 12, 1805-Sept. 4, 1809, unnumbered pages. Major Thomas Cushing, the Inspector General, was then at St. Louis on a tour of installations in the western regions.

# MCCLELLAN AND SEYMOUR IN THE CHICAGO CONVENTION OF 1864

BY WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

IN 1864, the Democrats were preparing for the presidential election in which they hoped to wrest control of the course and conduct of the Civil War from the hands of Abraham Lincoln. As the time approached for their national convention at Chicago, party leaders acknowledged that General George B. McClellan was the candidate most likely to receive the nomination. Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, however, was also being considered, and at the last moment before the opening of the convention he made a strong, unexpected bid for the nomination.

McClellan had been spoken of as a possible nominee ever since he had written his Woodward letter on October 12, 1863.<sup>1</sup> In December of that year John Hay asked Samuel S.

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<sup>1</sup> William S. Myers, *A Study in Personality: General George Brinton McClellan* (New York, 1934), 428-29; Peter S. Michie, *General McClellan* (New York, 1901), 445; Harold M. Dudley, "The Election of 1864," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVIII, no. 4 (March, 1932), 506. The complete text of the letter favoring the election of George W. Woodward as governor of Pennsylvania is reproduced in Edward McPherson, *A Political History of the United States of America During the Great Rebellion* (Washington, 1865), 386.

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Cox who the Democratic candidate would most likely be in 1864. Without hesitation Cox replied, "We will run General McClellan. He is our best ticket. He lost some prestige by his Woodward letter. But it was necessary. He never could have gotten the nomination without it."<sup>2</sup> Many claimed, however, that this letter was tinged with the dread stigma of Copperheadism; that it aligned McClellan with the forces which wanted peace even at the cost of the Union.

On March 17, 1864, a giant mass meeting was held at Cooper Union to advocate the nomination of McClellan. Ward organizations were formed in New York City as well as a central executive committee. At first the local New York politicians held aloof from the McClellan boom, but by August most of them favored his candidacy. Meetings were held all over the state to endorse him, and a few days before the national convention Tammany Hall also declared in his favor.<sup>3</sup>

On June 15, 1864, the General spoke at West Point. In this oration he declared his unfaltering adherence to the Union and insisted that the war must continue until its restoration was accomplished. Such convictions were contrary to the alleged Copperhead or peace sentiments which McClellan was supposed to have manifested in his Woodward letter. The "peace men" under the leadership of Clement L. Vallandigham, Fernando Wood, and others now found that the General was entirely unacceptable to them. They set out to defeat him even though from all indications he was the man approved by a majority of the party.

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The peace men of Philadelphia started a movement to bring Franklin Pierce or Millard Fillmore forward as the party standard bearer. Circulars were sent to most of the states to stimulate interest in this movement, but when no enthusiasm

<sup>2</sup> Myers, *A Study in Personality*, 429.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney D. Brummer, *Political History of New York State During the Period of the Civil War* (New York, 1911), 401-3; *New York Herald*, Mar. 18, Aug. 5, 6, 9, 27, 1864; *New York Tribune*, Mar. 18, Aug. 29, 1864.



could be aroused it was abandoned.<sup>4</sup> Many of McClellan's friends wrote to him during the summer to acquaint him with the evident hostility of the peace men. George Morgan, of Ohio, wrote that Vallandigham said he would refuse to speak if the General were nominated. Joseph Medary, publisher of the influential peace journal, *The Crisis*, according to Morgan, was "incorrigible" whenever the General's name was mentioned.<sup>5</sup> S. S. Cox warned McClellan that it would be dangerous to come out too strongly in favor of the war if he expected the support of the peace faction at the convention.<sup>6</sup> Others urged him not to identify himself too closely with this radical element of the party. He was advised to have some of his friends at the convention fully authorized to speak concerning his views.<sup>7</sup>

The radicals, having rejected the General because of his war views, began to look around for a substitute. Fernando Wood became the guiding force in a movement to nominate Governor Seymour as the peace candidate. The counterplay between partisans of McClellan and Seymour the week before the convention opened was the outward manifestation of a deep rift which had been developing in the Democratic Party for many months between the peace and war factions. In these manipulations the friends of General McClellan were to prove too strong to defeat, and the party was to go into the campaign led by a war candidate.

Horatio Seymour had been infected with the virus of "presidential fever" for a long time and was a bitter opponent of Lincoln's administration. He felt that Lincoln had yielded too much to the radicals in his party in order to obtain their support for his re-election. Seymour's virulent denunciations

<sup>4</sup> Amasa Parker to George B. McClellan, July 24, 1864 (McClellan MSS in the Library of Congress).

<sup>5</sup> George W. Morgan to McClellan, Aug. 14, 1864; A. C. Niven to McClellan, Aug. 17, 1864; J. W. Fitch to McClellan, Aug. 19, 1864; all in McClellan MSS.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel S. Cox to Manton Marble, Aug. 7, 1864 (Manton Marble MSS in the Library of Congress).

<sup>7</sup> E. W. Cass to McClellan, Aug. 18, 1864; E. Harrison to McClellan, Aug. 12, 1864, McClellan MSS.

of the administration caused contemporaries to rank him as a Copperhead. Actually he was also a bitter opponent of the peace men of the Vallandigham-Wood school. To his mind they were no better than visionaries. On the other hand, McClellan was also unacceptable to him because of the General's arrest of the Maryland legislature in September, 1861, and his disregard for the sanctity of *habeas corpus*.

In February, the New York Democratic state convention had met at Albany to select delegates for the national convention. The "Albany Regency" fully understood the Governor's ambition for the presidency and tried to encourage it. Seymour was selected to head a strong delegation containing such influential men as Dean Richmond, August Belmont, and Samuel Tilden. The delegation was controlled by the unit rule.<sup>8</sup>

On August 18, 1864, the peace men, led by Fernando Wood and Vallandigham, staged a convention at Syracuse, New York. The assembly indicated no preference for a presidential candidate, but its partiality for Seymour was well known.<sup>9</sup>

Before Seymour left Albany for the Chicago convention, the *Albany Argus* stated that he would not be a candidate. The dispatch was written by Seymour himself. Later it was announced that this was put out merely as a feeler.<sup>10</sup> His natural ambition, the flattery of the peace men, and his distrust of McClellan forced the Governor to permit his name to be brought before the convention. His biographer, Stewart Mitchell, feels that it was only Seymour's complete unwillingness which prevented his nomination by the convention.<sup>11</sup> But the members of the New York delegation felt that the Governor was anything but unwilling. They considered him a real rival to McClellan and thought he withdrew his name only

<sup>8</sup> De Alva S. Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (New York, 1909), III: 101.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander, *Political History*, III: 106; Brummer, *Political History*, 400.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander, *Political History*, III: 107; *Albany Argus*, Aug. 18, 1864.

<sup>11</sup> Stewart Mitchell, *Horatio Seymour of New York* (Cambridge, 1938), 365.

after it was conclusively proved that his chances were impossible. There are several interesting letters in the McClellan and Manton Marble papers which throw some light on what observers at the convention thought of Seymour's movement.

Samuel Barlow, a prominent New York attorney and Democratic politician, was an ardent worker for the General nomination. He was also a part owner of the Democratic *New York World*, which was edited by Manton M. Marble. Marble accompanied the New York delegation to Chicago and reported much of the happenings to Barlow in New York by means of a special code. Since their correspondence was by telegram, some arrangements obviously were needed to keep convention secrets from others. They used the device of substituting names. McClellan was referred to as "Thomas," Seymour as "William," Richmond as "Henry," Tilden as "Stephen," and John Douglas as "Gordon." They also had a special list of sentences. For example, if McClellan's chance of nomination were good, Marble was to say, "Thomas room with me." If he were certain to get the nomination, Marble was to say, "Buy the property." Barlow's choice for the vice presidency was James Guthrie, of Kentucky. If he were selected, Marble was to telegraph, "Sell the 13th street house." If some other man was chosen, Marble was to wire, "Room cannot be obtained for Edward." If Barlow's presence was required in Chicago, Marble was to telegraph, "Richard must be seen at once." If Seymour should prove to be unfriendly Marble was to send the key sentence, "William must be sent out."<sup>12</sup>

Three weeks before the convention met evidence began to accumulate that "William" might have to be "sent out." On August 9, Barlow wrote to Marble, "Among a certain class of New York men, bets are freely offered of \$100 for \$75 in favor of Governor Seymour as against McClellan." His letter

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<sup>12</sup> The complete code is to be found in the Manton Marble MSS, Vol. 8, no. 1,637

continued optimistically, however, "I do not know what this means but believe it means just nothing at all."<sup>13</sup>

Two weeks later Barlow was still predicting McClellan's easy victory:

The conviction now seems to be almost universal that no one but McClellan can control any large portion of the army vote in the field and at home; that he alone can prevent the use of the army by Mr. Lincoln to deprive us of an opportunity of voting freely in November and that in case of success his influence will ensure his inauguration without a fear of opposition.

I am, therefore, satisfied that he will be nominated at Chicago. Probably without opposition and on the first ballot. I have no doubt that Gov. Seymour, who knows the General's mind and understands his true position better than anyone else is likely to take a leading part in the convention, will be able to control the honest peace men of the west and show them that our only safety lies in success and that with McClellan peace is certain.

Gov. Seymour's position as the acknowledged head of the conservative party in this state, gives him the right as well as the power to control the whole question of policy and if he is pres't of the convention as I hope he will be, he can without impropriety, in his address, put to rest all questions as to the candidate.<sup>14</sup>

Three days later the atmosphere began to thicken. Barlow wrote to Marble, who was now in Chicago, "We have heard all sorts of rumors as to bargains and tricks, first with Seymour, then with Fremont, then with Guthrie." His confidence in McClellan's ultimate triumph still was not shaken, however, for he continued, "I place no reliance upon any of them."<sup>15</sup>

On the following day, August 25, several letters were written to McClellan in which he was told that he was the choice of most of the delegates and that his nomination would probably be accomplished on the first ballot. One letter was a bit more cautious, however, and pointed out that there was growing opposition among the Ohio and Indiana delegates and that the position of New York was still doubtful.<sup>16</sup> These

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Barlow to Marble, Aug. 9, 1864, Marble MSS. This betting against McClellan was still going on in Chicago as late as Aug. 29. *New York Herald*, Sept. 5, 1864.

<sup>14</sup> Barlow to Marble, Aug. 21, 1864, Marble MSS.

<sup>15</sup> Barlow to Marble, Aug. 24, 1864, Marble MSS.

<sup>16</sup> W. Kornitz (?) to McClellan, Aug. 25, 1864, McClellan MSS.



were ominous signs, for they indicated that the peace men, who had great strength in Ohio and Indiana, were working against McClellan's nomination in favor of Seymour. Marble notified Barlow of this, and the latter replied the following day:

I have your first telegraph which gives me some uneasiness, but I think you will be able to counteract the Seymour movement, by convincing the doubters that we cannot carry this state or Pa with Seymour—of this I have no doubt whatever, Besides Henry [Richmond] and Stephen [Tilden] know what is what and must control.<sup>17</sup>

The message continued, "New Jersey is the place . . . but in case of necessity . . . use Ohio, or even Pa or New York. Richmond, Tilden, Douglas & Yourself have been authorized to control." Apparently McClellan was to be the choice, but in case of necessity the four leaders from New York were fully authorized to seek a candidate elsewhere.

A dispatch in the *New York Herald*, dated August 26, pointed out that the peace men had "flattered Seymour's vanity until he has really made up his mind that he is the man for the crisis."<sup>18</sup> The Seymour boom was largely the work of Fernando Wood. It has already been indicated that Seymour had no great affection for Wood, but, apparently, neither was he making any great effort to prevent the use of his name, even by men he did not like. Wood had no affection for Seymour either, but was probably using his name in an attempt to kill off McClellan's chances. During the convention Wood was alleged to have remarked, "I don't care five cents for Seymour: he is only a convenient tool just now." There were high hopes among the anti-McClellan men that New York might be induced to give a complimentary vote for Seymour on the first ballot and thereby prevent the General from getting the necessary two thirds of the votes.<sup>19</sup> In addition to Fernando Wood the Ohio delegates also urged the Governor to accept the nomination, and Seymour's friends were working very hard

<sup>17</sup> Barlow to Marble, Aug. 26, 1864, Marble MSS.

<sup>18</sup> *New York Herald*, Aug. 28, 1864.

<sup>19</sup> *New York Herald*, Aug. 29, 1864; *New York World*, Aug. 29, 1864.

unvassing every western delegate as he arrived in town in an effort to get other states to give him a complimentary vote on the first ballot.<sup>20</sup>

Much would depend on what action the New York delegation took in regard to Seymour and McClellan. Dean Richmond was working to silence the growing appeal for Seymour by trying to get the New York delegates to pledge their votes for McClellan. As long as there was a slight chance that New York's favorite son might sweep the convention the delegates refused to commit themselves.<sup>21</sup> The New York delegation was scheduled to hold its caucus on Saturday, August 27, at 1:00 P.M. By Saturday the Seymour movement seemed to be losing ground. On that day one observer wrote, "The only support that he [Seymour] seems to have this morning from New York is a few rotten peace disorganizers, Republican officials, and a portion of his military staff."<sup>22</sup> When the New York delegation met there was a lengthy discussion, but no decision was reached.<sup>23</sup>

In the McClellan papers are copies in Barlow's handwriting of three telegrams dated August 27. These were apparently copied from telegrams received from Chicago and possibly sent by Marble. The first pointed out that Ohio was fighting McClellan and was using Seymour's name against the General. The second alluded to the meeting of the New York delegates which was scheduled for nine that evening. Reference was also made to the fact that the Baltimore episode of 1861 had been brought up and was making trouble. (This was not the first time that the arrest of the Maryland legislature was to be used in the convention against McClellan.) The third copy was of a telegram received by Barlow at half-past three Sunday morning. This read in part, "Seymour is now the only impediment. If he fights tonight which seems probable, he will be

<sup>20</sup> H. L. Lansing to McClellan, Aug. 28, 1864, McClellan MSS.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander, *Political History*, III: 107-8.

<sup>22</sup> *New York Herald*, Aug. 28, 1864.

<sup>23</sup> Lansing to McClellan, Aug. 28, 1864, McClellan MSS.

beaten. His prudence may assure unanimity. Every proper influence is being used by Tilden. Richmond swears vigorously and effectively."<sup>24</sup>

The meeting continued until after one o'clock Sunday morning and then adjourned without taking a vote. The prevailing sentiment was for McClellan, but Seymour proposed postponing the vote in order that further consultation could be held. He asked that his name should no longer be considered but suggested that Judge Samuel Nelson or James Guthrie should be nominated instead of McClellan.<sup>25</sup>

When the anti-McClellan men learned on Sunday morning that the New York delegation caucus had ended without a vote being taken, their hopes revived. Once again Seymour's name was brought forward. In a meeting of the anti-McClellan forces it was discovered that some delegates from at least sixteen states favored the Governor as a compromise candidate between the peace and war factions, but they were all from delegations acting under the unit rule and were, therefore, powerless to act alone.<sup>26</sup> General McClellan's friends kept fighting against the "few men who would rush the country into the jaws of eternal separation." An informal poll had been taken late Saturday evening. McClellan had 175 votes enough to assure his nomination on the first ballot.<sup>27</sup> Barlow was still confident that his man would be chosen but, preparing for any possible contingency, he wrote the following to Marble:

I have no doubt McClellan will be nominated. If he cannot be: in these circumstances, which, if I were present would compel me to abandon him for some other, of which you will judge after consultation with Douglas, Tilden, some other true friends, I shall prefer that Richmond be nominated. I prefer him personally to any other man. I understand his ability, his comprehensive grasp of public affairs, and his *capacity for the place*.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Copies of these telegrams are in Samuel Barlow's handwriting, Aug. 27, 1864, McClellan MSS.

<sup>25</sup> Brummer, *Political History*, 403-4; *New York World*, Aug. 29, 1864.

<sup>26</sup> *New York Herald*, Aug. 29, 1864.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Carrigan to McClellan, Aug. 28, 1864, McClellan MSS.

<sup>28</sup> Barlow to Marble, Aug. 27 or 28, 1864, Marble MSS.

Marble and his "true friends" apparently saw Seymour on Sunday and convinced him that in view of the outcome of the unofficial poll taken Saturday evening, the General's nomination could no longer be checked. The Governor saw the impossibility of his position and put an end to all talk about his candidacy. By this time it was obvious to nearly everyone at the convention that Wood and the peace men had been using Seymour only as a means to stop McClellan. For the rest of Sunday evening Seymour had a long talk with the ultra peace men in an effort to convince them that he was now unavailable and that they should support McClellan. He told them that when the New York delegation met again Monday morning for its final ballot that McClellan would most likely be chosen. The ultras, however, were still adamant, and many of them insisted that they would nominate Seymour regardless of what action the New York delegation took.<sup>29</sup>

In the meantime, after having been assured of the Governor's withdrawal, Marble dispatched the welcome message, "Buy the property," to Barlow. He, in turn, sent a telegram to McClellan which read, "William [Seymour] is strenuous but will be overruled by Stephen [Tilden]. We shall buy the property today." It was signed with Barlow's code name, Richard.<sup>30</sup> Barlow followed this with a letter to the General more fully elaborating the situation. The letter read in part:

I had further messages from Marble and again this morning, and which sent you [this refers to the above telegram]. I have just had a message from McLean saying you will be nominated today. Coming from this quarter it is very satisfactory. I fear there may be trouble on the platform . . . from Marbles latest telegram it seems that the governor has in reality been the only obstacle from the beginning. This surprises as much as it gratifies me.<sup>31</sup>

The New York delegation met at nine Monday morning. Seymour made a lengthy speech in which he denied that he had

<sup>29</sup> *New York Herald*, Aug. 30, 1864.

<sup>30</sup> Barlow to McClellan, Aug. 29, 1864, McClellan MSS.

<sup>31</sup> Barlow to McClellan, Aug. 29, 1864, McClellan MSS.





### CARTOONIST'S VIEW OF THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES OF 1864

The caption of this drawing, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, October 8, 1864, said, "Marvelous equestrian performance on two animals by the celebrated Artist Professor George B. Mac, assisted by the noted

had at any time even a remote idea of allowing his name to be used for the presidency. The delegation proceeded then to the balloting. McClellan received the necessary number of votes. There were a few scattered votes for Samuel Nelson, James Guthrie, and Charles O'Connor. Seymour's vote was for Judge Nelson. The matter was now settled, for, with New York's vote behind him, McClellan's nomination was assured on the first ballot.<sup>32</sup>

Even while the balloting was in progress in the national convention, however, the peace men were still unreconciled to the General. Benjamin G. Harris launched a spirited attack on his conduct in Maryland in 1861. Alexander Long, of Ohio, cried out in a plaintive voice, "I beg of you to give us another candidate." A chorus of voices answered with Seymour's name.<sup>33</sup> After McClellan's nomination was made unanimous, Seymour delivered a fine speech which was a fitting rebuttal to the accusations which the ultras had been leveling against the General.<sup>34</sup>

Many of McClellan's correspondents attested to the unpopularity of his nomination among the peace men. Vallandigham, for example, as he was leaving the convention, said, "he would keep quiet, withdraw his meetings, and with Medary and others have some tall cussing."<sup>35</sup> There was still hope among the peace men that McClellan might decline the nomination. The platform had been written by the ultras. It branded the war a failure and called for an immediate peace even if that meant a sacrifice of the Union. Such sentiments were certainly unpalatable to the General. He had written many times before and during the convention that he would accept the nomina-

<sup>32</sup> *New York Herald*, Aug. 30, 1864. The reporter wrote: "His speech in the New York delegation was one of the strongest endorsements of McClellan ever uttered by any person."

<sup>33</sup> *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention Held in 1864 at Chicago* (Chicago, 1864), 39.

<sup>34</sup> *Official Proceedings*, 43-45.

<sup>35</sup> Cox to Marble, Sept. 19, 1864, Marble MSS. See also: L. Edgerton to McClellan, Sept. 3, 1864, and John Douglas to McClellan, Sept. 5, 1864, McClellan MSS.



tion "unless it be coupled with conditions distasteful to me."<sup>36</sup> Certainly disunion was distasteful to him.

The peace men had forced the adoption of the Wickliffe resolution to keep the convention in continuous session because they hoped McClellan would decline to accept the nomination on such terms and then they would nominate their own candidate. John Douglas saw through this scheme and wrote the following to McClellan:

Mr. Wickliffe's resolution to keep the convention in continuous session was only done in the expectation that you would not accept that platform and this was the only method that the people could be driven from their enthusiasm for you, viz, kill you off and then renominate one of the Seymours. *I say to you as a friend, smash the machine* and you disorganize the force and power of the peace men and we can keep up the enthusiasm by a rally of all men opposed to the arbitrary and unjustified acts of the present party in power.<sup>37</sup>

At last, after several days of indecision, McClellan accepted the nomination although in his letter of acceptance he completely repudiated the more questionable parts of the platform.<sup>38</sup> This was an action almost unprecedented in American political life.

After the convention adjourned, George Morgan wrote to McClellan and commented on the "honorable bearing" of Seymour throughout the convention and advised the General that had the Governor permitted the use of his name McClellan's nomination would have been less certain.<sup>39</sup> The Governor did not permit the use of his name after the convention opened its sessions, but there can be little doubt that he did allow the peace men to use his name before August 29. Some of his confidential friends explained, after the convention was over, that he had been playing a game to outsmart Fernando Wood. Seymour, they claimed, knew that Wood was merely using him

<sup>36</sup> J. Lawrence to McClellan, Sept. 5, 1864, McClellan MSS.

<sup>37</sup> John Douglas to McClellan, Sept. 5, 1864, McClellan MSS.

<sup>38</sup> Charles R. Wilson, "McClellan's Changing Views on the Peace Plank of 1864," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 3 (Apr., 1933), 498-505.

<sup>39</sup> George Morgan to McClellan, Sept. 1, 1864, McClellan MSS.

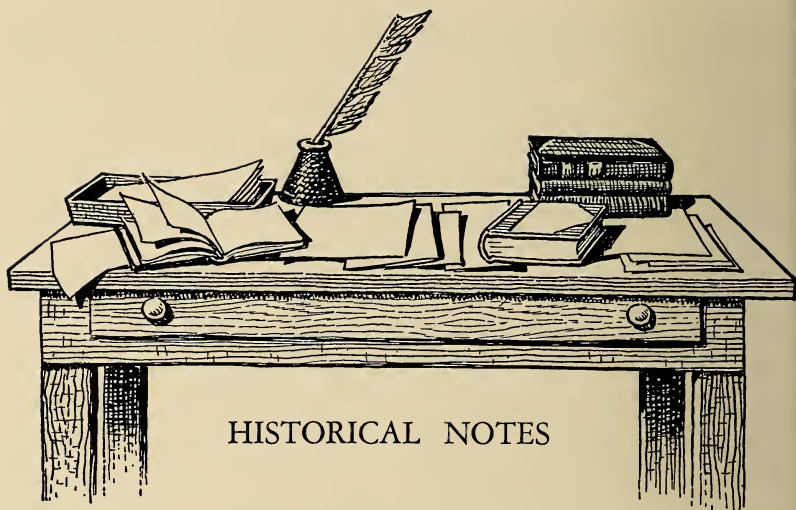
to try to defeat McClellan but he allowed Wood and the ultras to do this to prevent their going to someone else. Seymour hoped to turn the peace men to McClellan at the proper time: "He was afraid that if he withdrew his name on the start they would concentrate on some other man who would make mischief, and therefore he allowed his name to be used to prevent it."<sup>40</sup>

If this were true it is strange that Seymour did not tell Richmond, Tilden, or Marble and the other McClellan men from New York. Manton Marble seemed convinced that it was the Governor who was bent on making mischief at the convention. Until Sunday, August 28, when he announced that he would no longer permit the use of his name, his position was undoubtedly that of a contender for the nomination as a compromise candidate between the peace and war factions of the party. When his ambitions were shown to be unattainable he gracefully withdrew and urged his friends and the peace men to support McClellan. As a last gesture, to show that he considered McClellan inadequate, he voted for Judge Nelson, but after the convention officially nominated the General, Seymour's support became wholehearted.



<sup>40</sup> *New York Herald*, Aug. 30, 1864.





## HISTORICAL NOTES

### GRANT'S FATHER DIDN'T WANT HIM ELECTED PRESIDENT

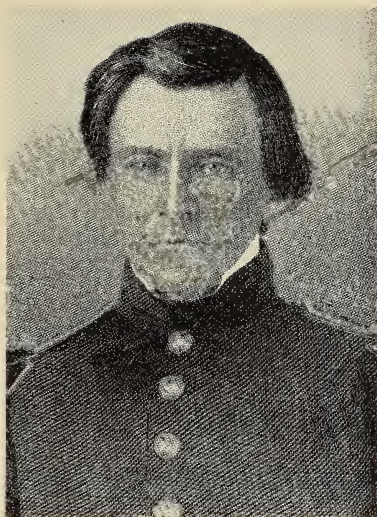
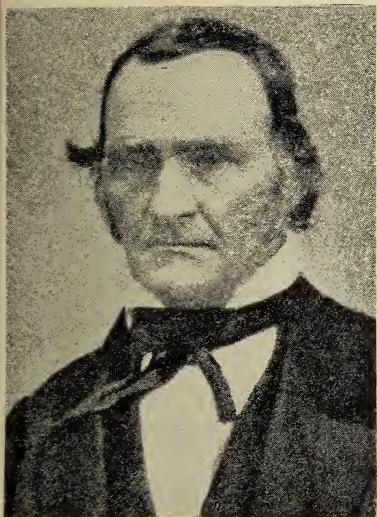
When Ulysses S. Grant was running for President the first time, in 1868, his father, Jesse, thought he would be better off if he were to lose. This opinion of the elder Grant was reported in a letter written by Berry Day, of Cincinnati, Ohio, to his niece, Mary Elizabeth Day, and her husband, Moses G. Wadsworth, of Auburn, Illinois. Moses Wadsworth published the *Auburn Citizen* for many years and his reminiscences about Abraham Lincoln appeared in this *Journal* in September, 1948.

The letter with its interesting report on Grant's father was sent to the *Journal* by Mrs. Thomas Reynolds Jones, of San Diego, California, daughter of the Moses Wadsworths. It was found among the family papers inherited by Harry Leland Wadsworth, a grandson of the Auburn couple.

Historians usually picture Jesse Grant as a talkative and somewhat eccentric man, but here is a different view of him. Personal parts of the letter have been omitted and capitalization and punctuation added:

Queen City of the West, this 14th day of Sept., 1868  
Dear Neph and Niece, together with a kind salutation  
to the juvenile portion of your family, *Greeting:*

Our politicians who so dearly love the people about these times  
are sadly discommoded by the nightly rains that prevent the gathering of the



THE GRANTS: Note the resemblance between father (left) and son.  
The picture of Ulysses was made when he was twenty-one.

faithful at the street corners to hear the words of wisdom as they fall from the eloquent lips of the speakers.

We have a dead sure thing on Grant this fall. Only let us work on faithfully till the election and so swell his majority, for the larger the majority the better.

I was talking yesterday with the General's father, who lives in Covington (he frequently visits the horse markets of Fifth St.). [Berry Day, at this time, ran a horse market in Cincinnati.] He says it would be better for Ulysses were he defeated this fall as he now enjoys as much honor as he can if he succeeds this fall, and without half the perplexity he would undergo in the presidential chair.

It would do you good to chat a little while with the old gentleman—so plain, simple, outspoken, intelligent, easy in his manners, yet every word counts and tells, and in a half hour's conversation with him you will not hear one useless or unnecessary word. He will place himself in some retired place in the crowd in the stable and have less to say than any in it, and were you looking for Jesse Grant you would take many others before him for the man.

He requested me some time ago to look him out a good horse, suitable for family use, and yesterday he called to tell me he had received a letter from his son in Chicago proffering to send him a spare horse he had, and letting me know I need look no further. Some men I have known would not have taken the trouble to countermand their orders and thus have put me to trouble and cost without any benefit, so I am compelled to hurrah for Grant

Senior as well as Junior. They are good stock and will fill the bill wherever they may be placed.

### "ALONG THE TRAIL OF TEARS"

Mabel Thompson Rauch, the author of this story, specializes in regional fiction and articles about her native "Egypt." Although she now makes her home in Hollywood, California, she was born in Carbondale and spent her school days in southern Illinois. Mrs. Rauch, in 1939, won the Theta Sigma Phi award for the best short story written by a California woman. "Along the Trail of Tears" appeared originally in the April, 1941, issue of *The Christian Family*. Permission to reprint it here was granted by Frederick M. Lynk, S. V. D., of Evanston, editor of the magazine.

More than one hundred years ago the Cherokee Indians, numbering around fourteen thousand people, were taken from their homes in Georgia and other Southern states to a reservation which is today part of Oklahoma.

My grandmother, Anna Hileman, who at that time was a young girl living near Jonesboro, Illinois, saw the entire movement of this nation, one of the greatest migrations of recent times. The story was the favorite tale of my childhood, but not till many years later when studying history in school did I realize that the account of this dramatic happening (as told to me by a living witness) was all a fact. And she told me the things history books do not relate.

"Grandma," I would ask, "tell us about the time when you were a girl and all those Indians came through your country."

"Well," she would begin, "things were lots different in those days from now. Jonesboro was just a little cluster of houses. There were only about twenty-five families living there, but we had a courthouse and a jail, about half a dozen stores and

a public carding machine. Our farm was on the edge of the settlement.

"I remember well it was a hard, cold winter that year. I used to like to go hunting with my older brother. He had a line of rabbit traps. Often he would take father's brass-barreled musket along for sometimes he would get a shot at other game, too. Mother used to make a big meat pie out of the rabbits, a fine change for us from smoked side meat.

"She didn't want me to go that day for it looked like more snow soon, but I begged hard, so she bundled me up and I ran after brother. We had taken two rabbits from the traps. When we came to a little swale at the edge of the woods he gave me these to carry. There were lots of tracks on the snow in this clearing. Brother thought there might be rabbits, so we hid behind a tangle of wild grapevines. It had begun to snow a little, but just fine stuff like white meal drifting down from a sifter. We couldn't see very clearly, so we just crouched there and waited."

I can still hear grandmother's voice and see again the circle of



eager, interested, childish faces.

Then, it seemed in her story, that several things happened at once. The gun cracked, a rabbit leaped in the air, and a man on horseback appeared suddenly from the veil of snow near where it fell. He jerked his horse back on its haunches, he wore a uniform, a sword. He must be a soldier!

The frightened children remained crouched behind the thicket. Had the bullet hit him?

Three more mounted men suddenly rode into view through the haze of snow. They were soldiers, too. They stopped to talk together. Some of their words carried, "Just a stray shot—some hunter—" They sat on their horses gazing around into the enveloping whiteness. The children hardly breathed.

And now to their ears came an indescribable sound. There was the rustle of dead leaves, the sighing of a mournful wind, the scream of winter forest trees, mingled with a soft wailing murmur which seemed to grow in intensity.

The four soldiers wheeled their horses and rode on abreast. Before the astounded eyes of the little girl and her brother, more soldiers appeared, a whole company, and passed. Behind them came wagons and people on foot. Some of the wagons were covered ones, dirty, weather-worn. The horses were gaunt and bony. They moved slowly, their heads hung low. The people were muffled and bundled in old clothes, rags and tatters of furs. They plodded on wearily with bowed forms. Some carried great packs on their backs.

"We stole silently to the very edge of the clearing," grandmother would continue. "Hidden from sight by the trunk of a big oak, we peeped out, watching. There were short figures among those passing. Children! But

they tramped by quietly, they neither laughed nor cried."

She said it seemed a long time passed, but still they came. The whole clearing, as far as they could see through the snow, was filled with a long human caravan. At intervals a soldier rode by keeping to the border of the procession.

The dead rabbit still lay on the snow at the edge of the underbrush. Suddenly a tall, emaciated figure darted from the line of march. They heard a strange exclamation of pleasure as the man swiftly seized the rabbit. He hid it from sight beneath his tattered rags. The rags were the remains of a blanket. The man raised his head, stared with longing at the bordering woods. They could see his face quite plainly. He had an eagle-like nose, high cheekbones, black eyes, a bronzed skin.

"It was only then," said grandmother, "that we realized they were Indians. Hundreds of them! Where could they be coming from? Why were soldiers with them? There hadn't been any Indians in our part of the country since we could remember. Some of our settlers had gone to fight in the Black Hawk War, but we had thought wild Indians were a long ways from us."

But her brother's curiosity soon overcame his fear. When the next soldier came riding from behind the white wall of snow, he left their hiding place and advanced to meet him.

"Howdy there!" he said.

The man reined up. "Hello, young fellow! Can you tell me where we are?"

"Yes, you're nigh on a mile southwest of Jonesboro. Who're these Injins you're with?"

"Cherokees. We're campin' on Dutch Creek. How much farther?"



"Oh, just a short piece. Say, where'd all these Injins come from? Where're they going?"

"Don't you hear nothin' in these parts, young fellow?" joked the soldier. "The Army's a-movin' the hull Cherokee Nation out West. This is jest the first detachment, we got 'bout a thousand here. They sold their lands down South to the Gov-er'mint. Been months on the way. Goin' to ferry them over the Mississippi at a place called Willard's Landin'."

"Yes, that's just a few miles farther on."

The soldier turned his horse and rode on at the edge of the slow-moving dark horde.

The little girl came out from behind the tree and stood in the snow beside her brother watching them pass. Old and young, men, women, children, babes—a whole nation on the march. They were going west to the far wild lands beyond the sunset.

And then they noticed that many of those afoot faltered. The young and stronger led and half supported the old and weak. Their faces were gaunt, their eyes dulled with suffering. They looked starved, hungry. Shivering in their miserable rags, their worn skin-packs dragged and scuffed through the snow. It was like watching a procession of scarecrows come to life.

An old woman passed within a few feet of them. The little girl could not withstand the look in her hungry eyes. She held out to her the two rabbits she was carrying. The woman took them eagerly, made the sign of the cross and said in English, "God will bless you, my child."

And then, grandmother said, they knew they were not wild, bad Indians, but Christian people. Finally, they had all gone by. The children

went forward to the trail where they had passed. The snow was trampled and dirty but there seemed to be a brighter color than the grime.

"We stooped down to look closer," said grandmother, "and then we saw many of the footprints were stained with blood!"

She remembered she cried and her brother took her home.

All that winter the Cherokees were brought through southern Illinois. Most of the detachments camped on Dutch Creek to wait for the breaking up of the ice so they could ferry the mighty stream, although some, during the colder weather, were able to cross on the frozen river.

The bare facts behind the moving of the Cherokee Nation are to the effect that some of their leaders betrayed them into selling their rich lands to the government for the meager sum of six hundred thousand dollars. These lands in the South they had occupied since the settlement of America by the white man.

By the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Cherokees were mostly Christians and had thriving farms and schools. Then about 1828, gold was discovered in their Georgia territory, near the town of Dahlonega. The white people resented the Indians' holding the gold land and finally got Congress, in Jackson's administration, to agree to move them out West.

There was a regular gold rush to Dahlonega, and the government set up a mint there in which about seven million dollars were coined. Gold money with a D on it and a date before the Civil War was all minted there.

General Winfield Scott was put in charge of the moving. The Cherokees were herded into fourteen con-

centration camps, the sites of which are all known today. They spent one winter in these camps preparing for the journey. In the spring they started. As they had to bear the expense of moving, the tribe appointed purchasing agents to go ahead of them on the trail to Indian Territory and arrange for food and supplies to maintain the long trek. But dishonesty then was as rampant as it is today, so much of the money was misused and stolen.

By the time the Cherokees reached Illinois their sufferings were pitiful. They were Southern Indians, not used to intense cold and snow. They had lived in warm log houses, not skin tents. Many of them were well educated, owned slaves and other valuable property. These with the rest were moved out to make way for the white man.

The great trek moved slowly across the land, herded like cattle on the Chisholm Trail. They came through McMinnville, Woodbury, Murfreesboro, Nashville, and Port Royal, Tennessee. Then on through Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Hundreds died along

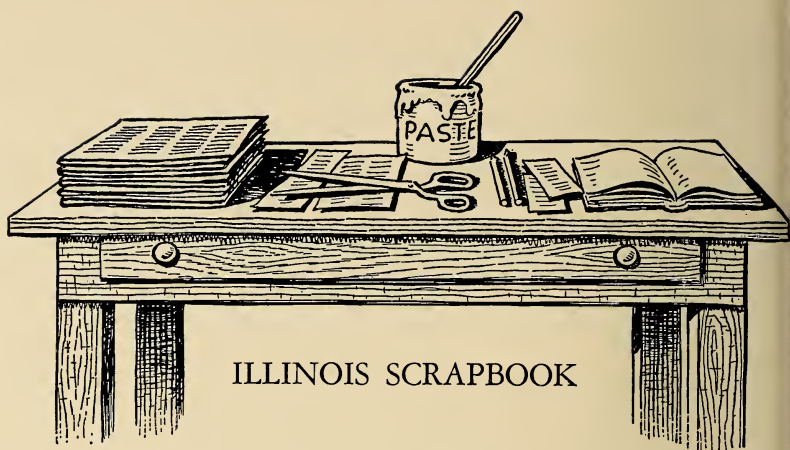
the way. There is still a cemetery near Hopkinsville where many Cherokees from this journey lie buried.

They crossed the Ohio at Golconda, Illinois, and moved on across the country to near Jonesboro. After crossing the Mississippi they circled southwest across Missouri and the corner of Arkansas into the Indian Territory.

In 1906 the United States government gave the Cherokees full citizenship. Perhaps it was only the hand of a just fate that brought in the rich oil wells on the meager land left to them, making the Cherokees among the richest people per capita in the world.

Today, over one hundred years after the long trek, many of our outstanding American citizens are proud of their Cherokee blood. Those that survived that long trail of tears handed down fine qualities to their descendants. Among them, some who are well known all over the world are the screen actors, Monte Blue, the late Tom Mix and our own loved late Will Rogers.





## ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

### THE ACTOR'S LOT WAS NOT A HAPPY ONE

*The following account of Illinois in the early 1800's is from N. M. Ludlow, Dramatic Life as I Found It (St. Louis, 1880), pp. 195-98:*

Our first town was St. Charles, eighteen miles north-west from St. Louis a town containing, in 1820, from twelve to fifteen hundred inhabitants. How we got there I do not now recollect, but I think there was some kind of a stage running between the two towns. We stopped at the only public-house there, and got the use of its so-called ball-room, of about thirty by fifty feet area; six feet of the length of which, at one end, we appropriated for the "stage," occupying the remaining space with chairs set on the level floor. We filled the blank places of our bills or programmes with the date and place of performance, and price of admission,—fifty cents. When the night came we had nineteen persons present, four of those being the landlord and some of his family,—“dead-heads;” cash receipts being \$7.50. We were a little surprised at this, our first night in a town where Mr. King had been told they were “thirsting for amusement.” I told King that I thought their “thirst” had dried them up, and I was for starting the next morning to return to St. Louis; but the landlord came to the rescue of King, and said the people were highly pleased, but thought the price of admission too high. He said there had been a menagerie there not long before, that charged only twenty-five cents admission, and “they had a monkey that was a wonder on the tight-rope;” and he assured us that if we would give another night, and

charge only a quarter for admission, we would "have the room full, especially if one of us would dance a hornpipe."

I told the landlord I was quite out of practice in the dancing of hornpipes; but that my friend Mr. King, I thought, was very great in that way, and perhaps he would oblige them if called upon. Now King had as great a dislike to dancing as I had, and would much prefer to see a monkey dance than fully grown men and women. Through the landlord's persuasion and King's urging, I agreed to make another attempt to draw the people in (but without the dancing), and put out our second night's entertainment, and we had *thirty* persons who paid, making the cash receipts precisely the same as the first night.

But this was not the worst of it; when we had gone through the programme, having sung the last duet, there was a little bustling as though the people were getting up to leave the room; then suddenly they returned to their seats. King had observed this movement, and came to an adjoining room where I was, and said: "The people are not going out; what does it mean?" I said: "Do you go out and tell them it is all over." "No," said he, "I am not used to making speeches to an audience. I wish *you* would go." I suspected what was the matter; so I went out and told them that although the receipts of the two nights were far from meeting our expenses, still we were obliged to those ladies and gentlemen who had favored us with their presence, then bade them farewell. As I was about to retire I heard my name called from among the auditors, so turned to learn what was wanted. The voice was that of our landlord, who said: "Mr. Ludlow, the audience would like to have a hornpipe from Mr. King." I paused a moment, then said: "If such is the pleasure of the audience, I will ask Mr. King to oblige them, and if possible for him to do so, I'm sure he will undertake it."

I then retired, and found King striding up and down the floor and tearing his hair, as though he would pull it all out by the roots. The first thing he said was: "Oh, my God! Mr. Ludlow, how could you get me into this scrape? This is all a consequence of what you said to the landlord about my being a *dancer*!" Mr. King, although a "play-actor," was, strange as it may appear, a modest young man, and could not be prevailed upon *to dance*. At length I said: "I'll settle this matter, and send them away quietly." So I went before the people and said: "Ladies and gentlemen, it is a very unpleasant duty which I have to perform, in being compelled to say to you that it is impossible for Mr. King to oblige you to-night with a 'hornpipe,' for two or three reasons: first, he has not his dancing-shoes along with him; secondly, he has corns on his toes, and his boots pinch him; and, third, there is no music present to dance to. Therefore he begs you will excuse him."

I had bowed and was retiring, when the same voice called out again:



"Mr. Ludlow,"—I turned back—"we have a fiddler here in the house, and the ladies wish to know if *you* couldn't oblige them with a dance?" This took me quite "aback," as the sailors say. 'Twas rather more than I calculated upon. However, I soon rallied, and said I was always ready to do any-thing for the ladies that 'twas possible for me to accomplish, but in this case I trusted they would excuse me, when they learned that I had been raised a Quaker and to dance was contrary to my *religion*. Here some half dozen rogues laughed out loud, and I took advantage of it and bowed myself off; the *elder* of St. Charles retired, and I have never had the pleasure of visiting the pleasant little town since that day.

Mr. King was not discouraged by this failure in our expectations, but was for prosecuting the trip further. Our next town, according to the original plan, was Edwardsville, Illinois. To reach this place, our most direct route, we were told at St. Charles, would be down the Missouri to the Mississippi River, land at a small town on the Illinois shore, called, if I remember correctly, Gibraltar. We purchased a canoe and started down the Missouri River, reached the Mississippi in about four or five hours (twenty-two miles), crossed to the Illinois side by the force of the current out of the Missouri River, which, being much swifter than the Mississippi, forces its way across almost to the opposite shore, as it escapes from its mouth, and then gradually recoils towards the Missouri side; the line dividing the two rivers being distinctly seen and easily determined by the difference in the appearance of the two streams,—the former being clear water, the latter muddy. We hauled our canoe to the land and hid it among the bushes, then started to find the town of Gibraltar.

After wandering amidst bushes and briars for some time, we at last discovered a two-story building, unfinished, and apparently abandoned, if it has ever been inhabited. We then found a tolerable sized log-cabin, then two or three more untenanted ones; and this was all of Gibraltar. I think the town has since disappeared entirely. There was no conveyance of any kind to be had, and we were compelled to walk all the way to Edwardsville, getting there about sundown. Edwardsville was and is a very pretty village, and at that time the residence of Gov. Ninian Edwards, who was at one time United States senator from Illinois, and in 1824 envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico.

I had a letter of introduction to Gov. Edwards, but he was gone from home. Some portion of his family, I believe, attended the one night's performance we gave in Edwardsville, and *but* one; for the place was too small and many of the people too *religious* to give support to such horrible creatures as "play-actors." And so we returned to Gibraltar, and without encountering any difficulties from its impregnable surroundings save with being scratched

by the briars. We again betook ourselves to our canoe and returned at once to St. Louis, somewhat wiser in regard to the country around us, and considerably poorer than when we went away. Mr. King, not long after, left St. Louis and went East. I never met him again.

### LINCOLN AND THE OFFICE-SEEKERS

*In her reminiscences, Thirty Years in Washington (Hartford, Connecticut, 1901), Mrs. John A. Logan, tells this Lincoln story (pp. 473-74):*

President Lincoln had a marked dislike for office-seekers. Often his first salutation to a visitor was, "Well, sir, I am glad to know that you have not come after an office." One day a delegation of leading Republicans from one of the States called upon him to secure the appointment of a certain Colonel M—— as collector of the port. Lincoln received them very graciously, and kept up such a running fire of questions relative to the political situation that the delegation got no chance to introduce the all-important subject. At last the chairman, growing desperate, blurted out:

"Mr. President, we have come here to-day to present to your favorable consideration, as a candidate for the collectorship of our city, the name of our honored and distinguished townsman, Colonel M——. He is preeminently qualified for the position—not only for his administrative ability, but his invincible loyalty and attachment to Republican principles. No honors, sir, could be showered on him that could elevate him higher in the estimation of his fellow-men."

Mr. Lincoln listened attentively to this panegyrical reference to their favorite, and then addressed the astonished deputation as follows:

"Gentlemen, it gives me much gratification to hear the praise bestowed upon Colonel M——. Such a man needs no office; it can confer on him no additional advantage, or add prestige to his well-earned fame. You are right, Mr. Chairman, 'no honors could be showered upon him that would elevate him higher in the estimation of his fellow-men.' To appoint so good and excellent a gentleman to a paltry place like this would be an act of injustice to him. I shall reserve the office for some poor politician who needs it."





## BOOK REVIEWS

*Ozark Folksongs. Volume IV: Religious Songs and Other Items.* Collected and edited by Vance Randolph. (The State Historical Society of Missouri: Columbia, 1950. Pp. 455. \$3.75.)

Now we have the final volume of Vance Randolph's impressive collection of songs heard in the Missouri and Arkansas Ozarks, complete with three invaluable indexes for the full set. These are: "Index of Titles," "Index of First Lines," and "Index of Contributors and Towns." Bibliographical notes are too exhaustive to be indexed, but the presence of a music score is indicated. These bibliographical headnotes often locate phonograph recordings of the item, as well as other printed versions. Handsome lining paper of the set were illustrated by Thomas Hart Benton.

Brush arbor songs of the camp meeting and evangelistic tabernacle form the religious section, rather a brief one of less than seventy items. These songs are familiar in southern Illinois, where the temporary pole and branch structure of the brush arbor is known less poetically as a shed. One of the established country churches of Williamson County is styled locally Morsinger Shed, derived from a camp meeting structure of 1835. Generations in rural Illinois have sung such tunes as "The Old Time Religion" (no. 628), the pile-up-song, "The Twelve Apostles" (no. 605), and the jump-up song illustrated by "I'm Bound for the Promised Land" (no. 624).

"Other items" of the fourth volume are more than two hundred miscellaneous songs and ballads not easily fitted into Mr. Randolph's organization. The first volume contained the traditional British ballads, the second volume was arranged in subject groups (reviewed in this *Journal*, March and June 1948), and the third covered play-party songs (*Journal*, September, 1949). Illinois readers will find "The Chatsworth Wreck" (no. 681), the tale of a 1887 disaster when an excursion train ran onto a burning bridge east of

hatsworth. Young readers may be surprised at the great age of the man on the flying trapeze in "Once I was Happy" (no. 748)—an 1868 copyright is indicated. Then there are the alphabet songs (nos. 873 and 874), the rhymed lists of presidents, states, and capitals, even the counties of Arkansas (no. 876). But the echoes of the past from "The Baggage Coach Ahead" (no. 704), "Put My Little Shoes Away" (no. 715), and the other tales of unrequited love, of dying or deserted children, move one to ponder what a vale of tears earlier generations lived and sang!

Chicago.

BARBARA BURR HUBBS

*Rainy River Country*. By Grace Lee Nute. (Minnesota Historical Society: St. Paul, 1950. Pp. 143. Bibliography.)

The appearance of Miss Nute's *Rainy River Country*, dealing with the history of the borderlands of northern Minnesota, is timely on at least two counts: the great Red River floods of last spring, and the 125th anniversary observance this summer of the founding of the city of Vancouver, Washington. The Rainy River country is part of the vast glacial Lake Agassiz, where collected the torrents that drowned Winnipeg. And Dr. John McLoughlin, founder of Fort Vancouver, long before his career in the Oregon Territory began, was chief factor in the Hudson's Bay post at Rainy Lake. Indeed, in those days before the Oregon Trail, Rainy Lake lay on the main-traveled route to the Northwest.

*Rainy River Country* is written in an entertaining style, without footnotes to impede the general reader, but, nevertheless, in a scholarly manner that will command the attention of the historian. It is the tale of:

The earliest people who passed through the region, Mongoloid men from Asia; of the mound builders who followed them; and of the Sioux Indians and, later, of the Chippewa, who lived on or near the river. . . . It reveals how traders traveled up and down the river for two centuries in quest of fortunes in furs and skins; how lighthearted voyageurs, . . . canoed over the waterway and toiled across portages with their heavy loads; and how missionaries came to heal the souls of dwellers in the wilderness.

The book tells of explorers—of La Vérendrye and his successors—who passed that way in search of the Western Sea or routes to the Arctic." Here is the story "of settlers who traveled the river on their way to new homes in the West; of prospectors seeking gold." And the author relates how farms were opened; how towns and villages grew up; how lumbering activities were carried on; how great industries developed; and how tourists have come in increasing numbers" to that northern vacation land. *Rainy River Country* should have the widest audience of all Miss Nute's works. It is a companion to her earlier volume *The Voyageur's Highway*.

University of Illinois.

NATALIA M. BELTING



*Pine Logs and Politics: A Life of Philetus Sawyer, 1816-1900.* By Richard Nelson Current. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison 1950. Pp. 330. \$4.00.)

Philetus Sawyer, semiliterate political troglodyte (Dr. Current devotes the opening page of this first full-length biography of the lumberman-politician to proving that the fellow *could* spell his own name), was enthusiastically sent to Washington by the state of Wisconsin to serve for ten years in the House of Representatives, twelve more in the Senate. Meanwhile, for fifteen years he occupied the station of political boss of his state, and accumulated a fortune of several millions by stripping the pine forests and playing with railroads.

His twenty-two year career in Congress (1865-1875; 1881-1893) failed to bring forth a single piece of constructive legislation. He gave his whole time to logrolling, pork barrels, patronage, the pension racket, and plundering the public domain. This was at the time when the "emergence of modern America" was generating new stresses and strains which cried out for statesmanship and politics (i.e. policy-making) of the highest order. A master of committee machinery and something of a President-maker, Sawyer came to be one of the most powerful figures in the capitol. "Apparently it never occurred to him," says his biographer (p. 99) "nor to most of his colleagues, that Congress might function as a national legislature and not merely as a place for local agents to haggle over the distribution of government favors to the dominant interests."

It is good to have a specimen like old Sawyer pinned to the mounting board, and this makes the book a welcome contribution to the natural history of American politics. However, *Pine Logs and Politics* does have its inadequacies: the crusty old Sawyer never quite comes alive in these pages, and one would expect the life-story of a vote-broker to encounter a few more voters now and then. Nor is it always clear just *how* Sawyer managed to move closer and closer to the center of power. But we are quibbling. If this is not a study of the histology of American politics, it is, let us declare, a good contribution to its gross anatomy.

*The Woman's College of the  
University of North Carolina.*

RICHARD BARDOLPH

*Northwoods Sketches.* By Chase S. and Stellanova Osborn. (Historical Society of Michigan: Lansing, 1949. Pp. 127. \$2.00.)

Here is a new kind of history. Indeed, as the editor says in his preface these stories are not history at all, "yet much is to be learned from them by the historian." The authors, an ex-governor of Michigan and his wife, have written thirteen other volumes. Stories about camping in the north wood

have been favorites with them. Mr. Osborn, in addition to his political activities (he was governor in 1911-1912), was one of the nation's most active "joiners," taking great pride in belonging to literally dozens and dozens of organizations, clubs, and fraternities, from the Elks and Masons to the Wilson Ornithology Club, the Mark Twain Society, and the Madagascar Academy of Science.

*Northwoods Sketches* contains forty-six short tales of hunting, trapping, and prospecting in Wisconsin and Michigan. From these pages a reader may learn how to prepare poison bait, how to roll a pack, and how not to get lost in the woods. A story of "Two Boys and a Lynx" describes some green youths who found the big cat in a trap, and shot at it twenty times before two or three bullets killed the animal. Then to the lads' surprise they discovered that the lynx was not held by the trap at all. It was loose.

This book is suitable reading for that rainy day in camp when no one wants to go fishing. Historians may learn from it, true enough, but, as the editor says, they will not learn much history. J. M.

*Lincoln en Martí.* By Emeterio S. Santovenia. (Editorial Trópico: La Habana, 1948. Pp. 157.)

The admiration of Latin Americans for Abraham Lincoln is profound and well known. It has its origin not only in their love of freedom, which he defended, but also in their "tragic sense of life," inherited from Old Spain. Through this quality they find kinship with this "knight of the sad countenance."

The Cuban Apostle of Freedom was José Martí. At the opening of the 1895 revolt against Spain he died fighting for the independence of his native land. All his life, spent mostly in exile, had been dedicated to that ideal. A sensitive, precocious boy of twelve years when Lincoln was assassinated, Martí trembled and wept at hearing of his death. According to the author of this study, he felt that destiny had linked his life with that of the Emancipator.

Martí, journalist, poet, scholar, propagandist of Cuban independence, traveled widely in Europe and both the Americas during his long exile. In New York he organized the revolution. He never wrote a life of Lincoln (he lived it instead, Santovenia asserts); but scattered through his voluminous writings are many observations which indicate the influence of Lincoln on his acts and thought. Santovenia has gleaned these paragraphs, sentences, and sayings, which he identifies in *Lincoln en Martí* by italics. The remainder of the book ties them together into a new life of Lincoln (and of Martí). It is a worthy addition to the great number of books on Lincoln written by foreigners and published abroad.

Jorge Rigol's pen and ink sketches are intriguing. That of Lincoln on horseback might well be taken for Don Quixote and Rosinante (except for the fact that the horse is not so lean as Don Quixote's famous nag).

*Illinois State Historical Library.*

MARY WATTERS

*Abe Lincoln of Pigeon Creek.* By William E. Wilson. (Whittlesey House New York, 1949. Pp. 288. \$3.00.)

This novel, based upon the Emancipator's boyhood in Indiana, is a good one. It begins with the arrival of Lincoln's stepmother from Kentucky and ends with the young man's return from a flatboat trip to New Orleans. These years, 1819 to 1828, were formative years for young Abe. But this is a period of his life about which very little is actually known. Consequently the author has allowed his imagination full play.

Most of the characters, however, are real—all seem very real. The dialect rings true, there is action, humor, and pathos. Historical novels do not happen to be a favorite of this reviewer—*Abe Lincoln of Pigeon Creek* is an exception. The Hoosier dialect is delightful and in itself almost enough to make the book a pleasure to read. The author spent his boyhood and youth in southern Indiana; he knows the land and its people so well that these Spencer County Hoosiers live again.

In particular, the book concerns itself with Lincoln's love affair with Anna Roby. But Anna married Allen Gentry with whom Lincoln made the flatboat trip to New Orleans. Disappointment in love brought on a spell of melancholy and unpredictable conduct that worried Abe's friends and his stepmother. The trip to New Orleans with the man who married the girl he loved seemed to solve the difficulties.

Sarah Lincoln's "winning over" her stepson, and the author's portrayal of her affection for him are beautifully handled. To get Abe to call her "Mamma" was a major accomplishment—achieved because it was deserved. And this love for his stepmother we may believe continued. In the busy days as President-Elect, before he went to Washington, Lincoln found time for a trip to Coles County, Illinois, and a word of farewell.

This book should make an excellent movie. It has action and, certainly, "characters aplenty." There are "Mizz" Grigsby with her uppity ways and her store teeth, Bluenose Crawford, Sally Lincoln's wedding and the "infare," Abe's trip to New Orleans, and fighting in abundance. Sensitively handled, as the author has written it, the story would make a colorful and enjoyable film.

Mr. Wilson, who is at present professor of English at Indiana University, is also the author of *Crescent City*, *The Wabash*, and *Big Knife*.

S. A. W.

*Two Captains West.* By Albert and Jane Salisbury. (Superior Publishing Company: Seattle, 1950. Pp. xix, 235. \$7.50.)

The subtitle of this book is "An Historical Tour of the Lewis and Clark Trail." And anyone who has ever taken an automobile trip of more than two days or has the slightest interest in the two captains and where they trailed will find it entertaining and informing. That takes in just about everybody. Of course, the Salisburys' ulterior motive is to encourage other people to re-explore the route as they and their three children did. But now that they have done it the rest of us can sit this one out and read their book about the "No Vacancy" signs on the motels, the rattlesnakes, prickly pears, mud roads, car trunks that won't open when the picnic lunch is inside, and other modern hardships.

When Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the Corps of Discovery made their historic expedition they traveled some 8,000 miles in nearly two and a half years. Both of the leaders and several of the men kept journals of their explorations. Jane, the writing Salisbury, has composed her own account from these records. This story is the main part of the book. She has added the Salisbury travelogue and directions for reaching each of the historic places mentioned. Al, the photographing Salisbury, has supplied more than 150 excellent pictures of the trail as it appears nearly a century and a half after Lewis and Clark. These bring the story up to date as nothing else could.

Although Illinoisans are likely to think of Lewis and Clark as belonging to the Far West, this state did play a most important part in their explorations. During the winter of 1803-1804 they camped on the Mississippi River just below Alton and there they gathered their supplies and trained their men, which made the whole expedition possible. Incidentally, the Salisbury location of this camp is not the same as that fixed by some Illinois historians (see page 316). Another complaint about the book is that it lacks a list of Al's illustrations.

In the selection of material from the journals of the expedition Mrs. Salisbury displays a sense of humor and a twentieth-century woman's curiosity about the morals and sex life of the men and the Indians in the country through which they passed. Also, she writes in a folksy style that makes her history entertaining and her travelogue more interesting than the average for such efforts.

H. F. R.



## A YEAR'S MAGAZINE ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO ILLINOISANS

- "Our Lincoln Heritage from Ida Tarbell." By Benjamin P. Thomas. (*The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, March, 1950.)
- "Billy Yank and Abraham Lincoln." By Bell Irvin Wiley. (*The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, June, 1950.) Soldiers' opinions of Abraham Lincoln.
- "Our Reluctant Contemporary: Abraham Lincoln." By David C. Mearns. (*The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, June, 1950.)
- "The 1840's and the Democratic Process." By Avery Craven. (*The Journal of Southern History*, May, 1950.) An attempt to discover how the Civil War, "which represented a complete breakdown of the democratic process," came about.
- "Allan Pinkerton and the Baltimore 'Assassination' Plot Against Lincoln." By Edward Stanley Lanis. (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, March, 1950.)
- "Mark Twain's Lansing Lecture on Roughing It." By Wallace B. Moffett. (*Michigan History*, June, 1950.) Mark Twain used this lecture, slightly modified, in Chicago on the nights of December 18 and 19, 1871.
- "Mechanical Humbuggery Among the Western Farmers, 1860-1890." By Earl W. Hayter. (*Michigan History*, March, 1950.)
- "J. K. Paulding's Sketch of the Great Lakes." By Mentor L. Williams. (*Mid-America*, April, 1950.)
- "Lincoln's Gadfly—Adam Gurowski." By LeRoy H. Fischer. (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1949.)
- "The Youth of William Jennings Bryan—Beginnings of a Christian Statesman." By Paolo E. Coletta. (*Nebraska History*, March, 1950.)
- "William Jennings Bryan, the Soldier." By J. R. Johnson. (*Nebraska History*, June, 1950.)
- "Lloyd Lewis." By Adlai E. Stevenson. (*The Newberry Library Bulletin*, July, 1950.) A beautiful tribute by a friend and neighbor.
- "Lloyd Lewis as Historian." (*The Newberry Library Bulletin*, July, 1950.)
- "Lincoln's Minister to Mexico." By J. Jeffery Auer. (*The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, April, 1950.)
- The *Egyptian Key*, Volume 3, no. 3 is a memorial edition to Dr. Mary Minerva Steagall, Colonel L. O. Trigg, and Will Griffith.





## ANNUAL MEETING

The fifty-first annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, in Mt. Vernon on October 20-21, was one of the most successful in the history of the organization.

Registration was held in the convention headquarters, Hotel Emmerson, and more than one hundred members from all parts of the state were present. At Friday morning's business meeting, presided over by retiring President Scerial Thompson, the proposed new constitution was not adopted. Five members were elected to the Board of Directors to serve until 1953: John W. Allen, and Harold E. Briggs, Carbondale; Joseph H. Barnhart, Danville; Alexander Summers, Mattoon; and Margaret Hoffman, Bloomington.

The directors met in the afternoon and elected the following officers for 1950-1951: President, Elmer E. Abrahamson, Chicago; first vice-president, Harold E. Briggs; vice-presidents: J. Ward Barnes, Eldorado; C. C. Tisler, Ottawa; Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Alton; D. F. Nickols, Lincoln; and Glenn H. Seymour, Charleston. Dr. Harry E. Pratt, acting State Historian, was elected Secretary-Treasurer.

At the opening luncheon on Friday Dr. Andy Hall, of Mt. Vernon, was the principal speaker. Dr. Hall was named by the American Medical Association the nation's outstanding general practitioner in 1949. He gave brief sketches of some early physicians of southern Illinois.

Vice-President J. Ward Barnes presided over the Friday afternoon session. Dr. D. W. Morris, president of Southern Illinois University, spoke on "Southern Illinois University—Its Past and Future."

Ladies clad in the apparel of the 1800's received Society members at a tea held in the beautiful Appellate Courthouse. Guests were directed to the display of valuable early manuscript records of the Appellate Court.

At the dinner meeting Past President Irving Dilliard introduced Mr.

Charles van Ravenswaay, director of the Missouri Historical Society, the speaker of the evening. Mr. van Ravenswaay lectured with illustrations on "History in Houses," referring particularly to fine old homes in Missouri and Illinois. He pointed out that the surviving forms of old architecture preserve an accurate record of the past in our fast changing states. The Southern Illinois University Madrigal Singers also entertained.

Saturday morning two bus loads of members convened in the Hotel Emerson at nine o'clock for a conducted tour of Mt. Vernon. Some of the points of interest were the burial places of former Lieutenant Governors Zadok Casey and Stinson H. Anderson, former Governor Louis L. Emerson's home, and the factory of the Mt. Vernon Furnace and Manufacturing Company. The plant's management arranged a working schedule for Saturday morning expressly for the benefit of the Society and specially designed ash trays were given as favors to those on the tour.

The final meeting of the very full schedule was held at noon on Saturday, and the members were privileged to hear a paper by William E. Wilson, Indiana University professor and author of *Abe Lincoln of Pigeon Creek* (see page 310). His subject was "Abraham Lincoln Moves to Illinois." He also described the research he had done on Lincoln's years in Indiana.

The Illinois State Historical Society is greatly indebted to the program committee, consisting of Dr. Dwight F. Clark, Charles Collins, and J. Ward Barnes for providing such interesting speakers. Special recognition should be paid to J. L. Buford, chairman of the local arrangements, and also to the members of his committee, Charles Inskeep, Orian Metcalf, Mildred Warren, Ed Dirks, and Denver McDonald. Because of their careful planning, the meeting ran smoothly and on schedule.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

October 21, 1950

*To the Directors and Members  
of the Illinois State Historical Society*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The Illinois State Historical Society has come to the successful completion of another year in its long existence. Membership has continued to grow and we have been particularly fortunate in affiliating three local historical societies with the state organization. The Morgan County Historical Society, with headquarters in Jacksonville, was the first to join the State Society. At the spring meeting the Mattoon Historical Society with seventy-two members affiliated. Just recently the newly organized Logan County Historical Society petitioned for affiliation. They have brought into



the State Society 190 members. We are indeed proud to welcome these societies and hope that there will be mutual benefit from their affiliation.

Many individuals have also joined in the past year. The total mailing list of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is now 4,526. Through the work of our membership committee headed by Mr. Jewell Stevens and Mr. Ralph Hinchliff, as well as many other active members of the Society, 742 new members have been gained. We may take pride in this steady increase.

The *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine is also progressing with great strides. Its circulation has increased to 2,942 and students in many towns are benefiting from the use of this periodical. All of the schools which took the *Junior Historian* last year have re-subscribed and many new schools have been added to the mailing list. We can expect continued expansion under Mr. Roger Van Bolt, director of this project.

During the year three historical markers were placed in Illinois. (See the account of these markers in following article.)

The Spring Tour was held on May 12 and 13, with Alton host to more than one hundred members of the Society. A tour of the historic spots in and about Alton occupied Friday. On Saturday the entire group motored to Pere Marquette State Park for luncheon and to view Principia College, the town of Elsah, the home built by Benjamin Godfrey and now owned by Mr. and Mrs. William L. Waters, and many other historic places.

Perhaps some of you are not aware of the public notice the Society receives. This year approximately 1,000 newspaper stories concerning our organization and its activities have been assembled.

It is my duty to note the names of the members of the Society who have died since the last annual meeting. This year we recall, with regret, the loss of the following:

Franklin W. Scott, Urbana  
Mrs. Emma Ralston, Freeport  
L. O. Trigg, Eldorado  
F. C. Bagby, Detroit, Mich.  
Mrs. Elsie Ross, Benton  
Miss Martha Richmond, Pekin  
Herbert W. Fay, Springfield  
William H. Sinnock, Quincy  
R. R. Wilson, Elmira, N. Y.  
A. C. Nell, Chicago  
Edward Caldwell, New York, N. Y.  
Amos C. Miller, Chicago  
W. C. Hurst, Fillmore, Calif.  
Oliver R. Barrett, Chicago  
C. T. B. Goodspeed, Pasadena, Calif.

C. H. Poppenhusen, Evanston  
Herman W. Danforth, Danforth  
Leslie W. Baldwin, Lena  
George H. Wilson, Quincy  
Cecil Barnes, Chicago  
John A. Andrews, Ottawa  
Charles M. Pearson, Champaign  
Henry P. S. Smith, Edwardsville  
Frank M. Bray, Joliet  
Paul Coffman, Lincoln  
E. Bentley Hamilton, Peoria  
Carl Van Doren, New York, N. Y.  
Joseph S. Duncan, Chicago  
R. B. Dickson, Kewanee  
Dr. William F. Petersen, Chicago

MRS. E. A. PURNELL, *Secretary*



## HISTORICAL MARKERS DEDICATED

The Illinois State Historical Society, on September 17, 1950, dedicated a plaque to mark the site of the old Alton State Penitentiary. The marker, in yellow letters on a blue background, reads:

Ruins of first state prison in Illinois. Built in 1830-31. Unsanitary conditions aroused persistent criticism from Dorothea Dix, pioneer in prison reform. All inmates were transferred to Joliet prior to 1860. During the Civil War, many Confederate prisoners were incarcerated here and deaths averaged six to ten a day. Erected by Illinois State Historical Society.

Harry L. Meyer was master of ceremonies at the dedication exercises and Karl K. Hoagland gave the principal address. Clarence Sargent read a history of the Alton State Penitentiary.

Another of the Society's plaques in the Alton area designates the site of the Lewis and Clark camp in the winter of 1803-1804. This marker is on Route 67 in Wood River. The third marker was dedicated on November 12 at Palestine, commemorating the site of the U. S. Land Office.



## DAMP PLACE FOR A CAMP SITE

David L. Lewis, of the *Alton Evening Telegraph*, says that the site of the 1803-1804 camp of the Lewis and Clark Expedition is now at the bottom of the Mississippi River at approximately the center of this picture. That is why the Illinois State Historical Society's marker was placed near by in Wood River. In addition to this photo Mr. Lewis supplied the one of the Calhoun County domino players which appeared in the *Autumn Journal* and brought forth so many favorable comments.

## BARRETT LINCOLN EXHIBIT ON TOUR

Illinois communities from Cairo to Chicago have been co-operating this fall to raise \$220,000 to buy the famous Lincoln Collection of the late Oliver R. Barrett for the state and future generations of its citizens. The Lincoln Historical Fund Committee, a not-for-profit organization which was formed to receive the contributions, hopes to reach its goal in time to present the collection to the Illinois State Historical Library on February 2, 1951.

Interest in the drive was stimulated by a state-wide tour of nearly two months by the Barrett Lincoln Collection railway car. This exhibit contained only a limited number of the more valuable mementoes and writings in the vast collection. The items were selected and arranged by Miss Margaret A. Flint, of the Historical Library staff.

In addition to the co-operation of nearly a hundred community committees, the tour, which ended on November 18, received much free service and aid from the railroads. The Illinois Central loaned the baggage car that housed the exhibit at the Chicago Fair last summer. The display was rearranged for the tour and then the Illinois Central, the Rock Island, the Burlington, the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio, and the Chicago and Eastern Illinois roads donated the use of their facilities to keep the car on its town-a-day schedule.

One accident marred the tour, however. The first custodian of the car was Ralph Gregory, a Lincoln collector himself and sexton of a St. Louis church. During the third week of his journeyings he suffered a knee injury, but was so much more interested in the exhibit than in himself that he hobbled around on a cane for three weeks before the doctors finally put his leg in a cast and sent him home. His custodial duties were then taken over by Miss Virginia Chalmers, of Wilmette.

Although contributions to the Fund are beyond the \$50,000 required for the first payment on December 1, the amount is still short of the final goal of \$220,000. Those who want to have a part in saving this unequalled Lincoln Collection for posterity can do so by sending their contributions to:

Barrett Lincoln Collection Fund,  
Springfield Marine Bank,  
Springfield, Illinois.

## ILLINOIS WINTER SCENE

The wintry picture on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* has proved popular with Lincoln authors and admirers. The scene is the Henry Dinstot house at New Salem. The cabin itself is one of the restored buildings,

but the cooper shop at the left is the only structure in the village rebuilt from the original logs that were standing during Lincoln's time. As one of the most successful citizens of New Salem, Onstot could afford a more pretentious house than the average, and also, since this cabin was not one of the earliest to be built, slightly improved methods and materials were available.

#### LINCOLNIANA FOR MACMURRAY COLLEGE

Lester O. Schriver, a trustee of MacMurray College, has presented that institution more than three hundred items from his private collection of Lincolniana. The formal donation was made on November 23, at Thanksgiving ceremonies. His gift included books, pamphlets, statuary, and pictures. Mr. Schriver has been collecting Lincoln material for the past twenty years.

#### CELEBRATING HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARIES

Centennial celebrations afford such grand opportunities for colorful pageants and the wearing of quaint costumes that few communities can resist holding them when there is any reasonable provocation.

The four-day celebration held the last of July at St. Anne, in Kankakee County, even surpassed the hopes of the town's residents. Crowds of more than 3,000 attended the pageants and many had to be turned away.

Bloomington observed the week of September 14 through 23, as the centennial of the city's charter, which was granted in 1850. Actually, Bloomington dates back to March, 1830, when James Allin opened a store. In March, 1831, there was a sale of lots "at the north edge of Blooming Grove.

This year's celebration included a pageant and the usual colorful accessories. Beards, sunbonnets, derbies, and plainsman-style hats flourished. Wayne Townley was centennial chairman, and Paul Haagen directed the pageant which was held at the stadium of Illinois Wesleyan University.

Collinsville celebrated the centennial of its charter on August 4 and 5 when a two-day "Homecoming" was held with a parade and floats. In 1937 Collinsville celebrated the centennial of the platting of the original town.

#### NEW HARMONY MANUSCRIPTS CLASSIFIED

Professor Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., under a grant from the Research Board of the University of Illinois, has arranged and classified the manuscripts in the Working Men's Institute, New Harmony, Indiana. These include valuable historical sources on the New Harmony community, Robert Owen, and William Maclure. A catalogue of the manuscripts is being prepared in mimeographed form, and the most important parts of the collection are being microfilmed for the Historical Survey of the University of Illinois.



## STERN COLLECTION TO LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Alfred Whital Stern Collection of Lincolniana, believed to be the only one comparable to the Horner Collection in the Illinois State Historical Library, has been presented to the Library of Congress. Librarian Luther H. Evans announced the gift on the eve of the anniversary of the Gettysburg Address. Included are 6,000 volumes, together with paintings, photographs, medals, manuscripts, and memorabilia—all linked with the life of Abraham Lincoln.

The mass of material will be in charge of the Rare Books Division, and representative pieces are already on display in the Library's galleries. Mr. Stern, chairman of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, is recognized as one of the foremost students and collectors of Lincolniana. Seven years ago he presented his library of Civil War books to the State Historical Library, making this institution the largest repository of Civil War material in the world. Mr. Stern's gifts to both the Library of Congress and to the State Historical Library are accompanied with endowments for the perpetual enlargement of the collections in order that they may remain, as they are today, the greatest sources of information for scholars in these fields.



Dr. Karl Geisel is writing a history of Kreis Alsfeld, Germany, and intends to list all persons who emigrated from there to the United States and Canada. He would appreciate any information about these immigrants to our shores. Also, Dr. Geisel would like to know how many care to buy his book when published. The cost will depend upon the size of the edition. Send information, in German if possible, to: Dr. Karl Geisel, (16) Heidelbach, Post Alsfeld, Germany.



For the benefit of the Bureau County Historical Society the Bureau County Craft Guild sponsored "The Princeton Pilgrimage" on September 9 and 10. Three tours were planned and tickets for each tour cost \$1.00. These conducted tours took the sightseers through many of Princeton's beautiful homes.



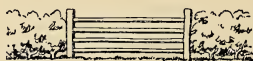
Throughout the summer months a pictorial exhibit of Niagara Falls was on display at the Chicago Historical Society. Prints of the falls were shown



from the earliest known one—the Hennepin view—published in 1697 through the nineteenth century.

"Lithuanian Art in Exile" was a featured display during August and September. The collection of paintings and craftwork was done in displaced persons camps of Germany where the artists had been sheltered by our country's military government.

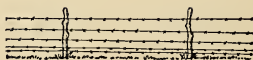
Five copies of the Gettysburg Address in Lincoln's handwriting were shown together for the first time, November 19 to 30. Armed guards protected the manuscripts valued at \$500,000. Also on display in the Society's museum were photographs of the Battle of Gettysburg, taken on the firing line by Mathew Brady.



Officers of the Ravenswood-Lake View (Chicago) Historical Association for 1950-1951 are: Dr. H. K. Scatliff, president; Jessie E. Reed, honorary president; Mrs. John Halversen, vice-president; Philip Schupp, vice president; William S. Crosby, vice-president; and Helen Zatterberg, secretary treasurer.



Colonel Harry A. Musham gave an illustrated talk on the Chicago Fire at the October 13 meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). The group met in the Julia A. Baker Auditorium of the Woodlawn Regional Library.



Tourists have long admired the exteriors of many Galena homes. On September 30 and October 1, an opportunity was offered to see the interior of some of them. Girls in the costumes of other days directed visitors through the picturesque mansions. Rare silver, antique furniture of mahogany and rosewood, all brought from England, may be found in many of these old homes.

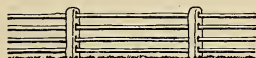
This past summer the Galena Historical Society prepared new posters illustrative of the city's points of interest.



Charles Durfee, of Golconda, and Ed. Kibler, of Rosiclare, spoke to the Hardin County Historical Society at Elizabethtown on June 14. Increased

membership in this newly organized society is very much desired. Yearly dues will not exceed \$2.00. All who are interested are urged to write to A. R. Matheny at Elizabethtown.

Topics assigned for discussion at the September 20 meeting of the Society were: "The Old Cemeteries of the County," by Ivy K. Joiner; "Veterans of the Spanish-American War," by James Robertson; "The Oldest Churches in the County," by Jack Simmons; "The Old Furnace," by Mrs. Daisy Leonberger; and "The Oldest Schools in the County," by Mrs. Harry Porter.



The Logan County Historical Society was formally organized in September with a charter membership of over 170. Officers chosen at the organizational meeting, on September 15, are: D. F. Nickols, president; E. H. Lukenbill, first vice-president; James Hickey, second vice-president; Minnie De Hass, secretary; and George Volle, treasurer.

Jay Monaghan was the guest speaker at this meeting, which was at Lincoln. He also showed the motion picture, "Lincoln in Illinois," produced by the state Department of Reports.



Mattoon's historic "lone elm" has fallen a victim of the elm disease which has plagued central Illinois for the past several years. The tree was over 150 years old and was used as a landmark by pioneers. In 1934 it was honored with a bronze marker presented by the D. A. R.



Historic Nauvoo held its annual pageant, the "Wedding of the Wine and Cheese," in the new Nauvoo State Park this year. Among the distinguished guests was Governor Stevenson, who attended a luncheon in his honor at Hotel Nauvoo on September 9, and officially dedicated the park.



Officers of the Oak Park Historical Society are: Mrs. George W. White, president; Mrs. James W. Wilson, first vice-president; J. C. Miller, second vice-president; Mrs. Irwin S. Maze, third vice-president; Mrs. Frank W.

Anderman, recording secretary; Jennie C. Larson, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Louis Soyer, treasurer. Trustees include: Frank W. Stevens, Mrs. Asa J. La Grow, and Thomas Doane.



Speakers at the September meeting of the Peoria Historical Society were: Dr. Anthony Martinaccio on, "How to Correlate Peoria History with the Schools," and Estella M. Wheeler on, "Correlation of Geography to Peoria's History." Philip Z. Horton is president of the group, and Emma Shriner program chairman.

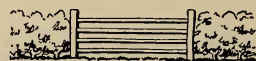


The Saline County Historical Society held its August meeting at the home of Scerial Thompson in Harrisburg. The basket-dinner meeting had been scheduled at the ancient stone fort south of Carrier Mills, but the group had to return to Harrisburg because of rain. President Ernest V. Gates presided at the meeting following the picnic supper. A resolution was passed calling for the Society to assist in the purchase for the Illinois Historical Library of the Oliver R. Barrett Lincoln Collection. Miss Grace Collier read a paper prepared by Webster Hall on "The History of Stone Fort."

In September the group met at the home of Mrs. Ida Choisser in Eldorado for a picnic supper on the lawn. The meeting was in the Choisser home afterward. Mrs. L. O. Trigg told humorously of a pig auction held at Shawneetown in 1825. Mrs. J. Ward Barnes talked on the origin of folk game and ballads in southern Illinois and Saline County, and all joined in singing some of the old songs.



William H. Carruthers was the principal speaker at the fall meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society. The group met at Murphysboro on September 29. Mr. Carruthers is superintendent of the Murphysboro public schools. Fred H. Shappard, president of the Society, presided.



Axel Ney, of Rockford, presented two American flags to groups in Sweden this past summer. The flags, gifts of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford, were given to the Bofors study group at Karlskoga and to the

chairman of the city council of Almhultsköping. The latter was the home community of Mr. Ney which he left forty years ago to come to the United States.



Wilmette held its second annual observance of "Charter Day" on September 16. Two public meetings were scheduled. In the afternoon H. A. Berens gave an illustrated talk for school children, while Jay Monaghan was the speaker of the evening. His talk, "History Is Here to Stay," was followed by the motion picture, "Lincoln in Illinois."

Horace Holley is chairman of the Wilmette Historical Commission which is said to be the only such commission in the state acting under appointment by local civil authorities. Leon P. Steffens is secretary and John M. Eckert, treasurer. The Commission plans to present a pageant of Wilmette history in 1951.

### FAMILY HISTORIES

Below are the names of those who have presented the Illinois State Historical Library with family histories within the past year. Since many of the library's patrons are interested in genealogy these books are especially welcome. The Library extends its thanks to:

Eveline Barchman, Springfield, Illinois, for Everton, *The Handy Book for Genealogists*.

Willis A. Boughton, Warwick, New York, for Boughton, "Additions and Corrections. Series II. For use with . . . Arnold, Redway and Earle Families," and Boughton, "Additions and Corrections. Series II. For use with Bouton, Boughton and Farnam Families."

Dr. Arthur Bond Cecil, Los Angeles, California, for Cecil, *William Cecil of Prince George's County, Maryland and Some of His Descendants, 1665-1949*.

William Miller Collier, Auburn, New York, and Donald C. McClure, Rockford, Illinois, for Collier, "Casper: a Collier, Hallenbeck Conyn Name; With Memoranda as to Bearers of It."

George Henry Davis, Peoria, Illinois, for Davis, *Genealogy of Thomas Davis (1782-1846) and His Descendants*.

Mrs. H. H. Dow, Midland, Michigan, for American Historical Company, *Dow, Ball, Eaton, and Allied Families*.



- Lillian Forrest, Jewel, Kansas, for Forrest, "History Matter about Rev. Joseph Forrest and Elizabeth Forrest, his Wife . . ." and Forrest, "History Matter of the Rea Family of Illinois." (Both typewritten MSS.)
- Frank B. Fox, Rehoboth, Massachusetts, for Fox, *Two Huguenot Families: De Blois—Lucas*.
- John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, Illinois, for Hauberg, *A Midwestern Family, 1848-1948*.
- Mable Bradford Holmes, Bloomington, Illinois, for Holmes, "The Bradford-Holmes Genealogy" (mimeographed).
- Esther Irvine, Milwaukie, Oregon, for Irvine, "Histories of the Jelly Family and the Hulpiau Family" (mimeographed).
- Laurence Prescott Keith, Chicago, Illinois, for Keith, "Chart of the Samuel Larned Keith Family (Descendants of Rev. James Keith)."
- Robert F. Koenig, Freeport, Illinois, for Koenig, *The Koenig Album*.
- Mrs. Elizabeth P. Leighty, Sparta, Illinois, for Gault, "The William Gault Family History, 1735-1948" (mimeographed).
- Colonel Gerald F. Lillard, Arlington, Virginia, for Lillard, "A Compilation of the Known Descendants of Thomas and Rhoda (Patterson) Lillard, a Pioneer Family of Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa" (mimeographed).
- Harry W. Mills, Arlington, Virginia, for Mills, *McRoberts Family*, and *Mills' Lettergram: Notes on Local History, Heraldry, Genealogy*.
- Mrs. L. E. Newcomer, Fleetwood, Pennsylvania, for Gall, "The Miller and Davis Families" (mimeographed).
- W. L. L. Peltz, Albany, New York, for Peltz, *DeWitt-Peltz, a Supplement*.
- Clarence Stewart Peterson, Baltimore, Maryland, for Peterson, *Swift County's First Pioneer. Minnesota Territorial Centennial, 1849-1949*.
- Dr. Jacob L. Pritchard, Santa Clara, California, for Pritchard, "Lineage of Philip Harless, 1716-1772 and his Wife . . ." (mimeographed).
- Frank A. Randall, Chicago, Illinois, for Randall, *Randall and Allied Families*.
- Wassell Randolph, Memphis, Tennessee, for Randolph, *The Reverend George Robertson, Rector, Bristol Parish, Virginia (1693-1739)*, and *William Randolph I of Turkey Island, Henrico County, Virginia*.
- Nelson Lorenz Schiller, Austin, Texas, for Schiller, *Genealogy of Lorenz and Friedericke Fuchs of Carmine, Fayette County, Texas, 1847-1949*.
- Mrs. C. H. Weeden, Providence, Rhode Island, for Anthony, *Roger Williams of Providence, R. I.*
- William M. Williams, Tower Hill, Illinois, for Williams, *History of the Williams, Dressler Families*.
- Malcolm Sands Wilson, New York City for Wilson, *Descendants of James Sands of Block Island*.

*Journal*  
*of the*  
ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY



WINDS AND FASHIONS OF YESTERYEAR  
(CAN YOU GUESS THE DRESS ON PAGE 35?)

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

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S. A. WETHERBEE and HOWARD F. RISSLER, *Associate Editors*

The Illinois State Historical Society is a department of the State Historical Library. The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, disseminate the story of the state and its citizens, and encourage historical research. An annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society tours some historic neighborhood. Membership is open to all. Dues are \$2.00 a year, or \$50 for Life Membership.

Members receive the publications of the Library, which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. These publications are the *Journal*, a quarterly magazine devoted to Illinois history, and occasional books and pamphlets on historical subjects.

Manuscripts submitted for publication should be addressed to J. Monaghan, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois.

The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by authors of articles published.

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## SANDBURG'S WORDS AT NEW SALEM

(From a Wire Recording)

OUT here this morning there is a group of people from all parts of Illinois; the old state's well represented from north to south. Man wonders whether he should indulge in humor as Lincoln did, often around here; or whether he should be as solemn as Lincoln was during a number of hours when he spoke to the American people.

I don't know whether it actually happened or not—how well authenticated it is—the story of Lincoln's going on with a case in the courthouse at Rock Island. There had been two or three days of furious squabbling in the courtroom—everything that anybody said was challenged—and, to cool off, Lincoln walked across the Rock Island Railroad bridge over the Mississippi, and he came to a small boy seated on the end of a tie with a fishing pole out over the river. And Lincoln is supposed to have said to this boy, "Well, I suppose you know all about this river." And the boy said, "Sure, mister, it was here before I was born and it's been here ever since." And

*Carl Sandburg is the country's best-known Lincoln authority and everything he says or writes on his favorite subject is a "must" for Lincoln students and collectors. This talk was delivered at the Golden Anniversary Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, at New Salem State Park on October 8, 1949. Those who attended the meeting had the added pleasure of hearing Sandburg against the perfect background of the Lincoln village on a beautiful autumn day. The talk was not intended originally for publication, but a wire recording was made by Fred Schrader, of Springfield, and this article is from a transcription of that recording.*

Lincoln said, "Well, it is good to be out here where there is so much fact and so little opinion."

You might really say that, if that anecdote is true, it was a forerunner of the time that he sent a message to Congress in December of 1862. He had a project very near to his heart—away deep he considered it sound statesmanship for the federal government to begin buying the slaves. He believed in gradual, compensated emancipation, and he made a close-woven argument, and you think, as you go along with it, it's almost unanswerable. Congress didn't care a hoot about it. It did nothing. He said in the course of it, "The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. . . . In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity." Day by day we get them. Day by day we get them in various pompous fools indulging their passions, giving out their ill-considered utterances that will look ridiculous or pathetic when the present crisis is over. Indulging themselves, I said. They enjoy executing sneers, they enjoy putting forth arguments that, if they searched themselves, they know very well they have not considered. You can't have hate any time; you can't have hate at any time without it doing something to your processes of reasoning.

I remember the time when it came over me in my research for *The War Years* when I had gone through scores of newspaper files, not reading all of them, but going here and there getting something of the feel of the times. I spent three weeks with a fairly complete file of the *Charleston Mercury*, loaned to me at that time by Oliver Barrett, marking passages for a copyist to put into a notebook. I got the feel of Charleston during those four years of the war, and I went through thousands of letters—hundreds of them have not yet been published—and I went through that winding wilderness of words, the *Congressional Globe*, reading hundreds of speeches on the floor of the House and the Senate. After awhile it came over

ne that by far the larger part of them did not know the history in the making before their own eyes; and what they had to say about the scene in which they were living today looks often pathetic and sometimes ridiculous; and we feel sorry for them that they could not have more deeply considered what they were seeing and what they were saying.

It is only a small minority whose words today hold good, make sense, and have something like dignity. Lincoln was one of that small minority. Robert E. Lee, also, writing a letter to a sister once, in which he expressed his deep wish that the institution somehow could be gotten rid of, writing his hopes that perhaps the Christian church could achieve the gradual extinguishment of the institution of slavery; making a remark, that Douglas Freeman holds as credible, in a drug store in Alexandria, about secession being a rather foolish business. He's the sainted figure of the South. Somehow or other the sainted figure is not Jefferson Davis, the man of passions and follies, the larger part of whose utterances today we feel have the quality of the pathetic.

By way of a similar exhibit in the North—a parallel exhibit—we could present Charles Sumner, United States Senator from Massachusetts. I have eighteen volumes of his collected speeches and writings, his addresses and letters. A dandy piece of printing, rag paper, solid boards, large type—and on nearly every page, nobody home. The things that he thought that he knew about the future, about the present, about the Negro—the things that he thought he knew—that time has proven to be not so at all. So I was a little amazed to meet, two days ago, a friend of mine, a historian who had a conversation with an eminent jurist—both of these men very careful about judgments they formed—and the jurist asked the historian who he considered the most detestable character in American history. There are people out of Lincoln's time who would have wept, who could weep over hearing the historian saying Charles Sumner, and the jurist saying that he had



arrived at the same opinion; and he named Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., the Justice, as having the same opinion. And yet, to a large part of the American public in the time that he lived, Charles Sumner was a heroic figure, one of the massive heroic figures of the time.

I didn't mean to dwell so long on a single figure like that, but he was one of the shining illustrations, out of that period, of the men who didn't know what Lincoln was talking about in saying to Congress in a message, "In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity," and that other sentence, "The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation."

And now, we look out on a changed national scene. Very curious, occasionally during that war, how the *London Times* and certain British statesmen referred to America as being a nation that had ambitions for world power. That world power now has come about.

In 1898, when I came to Springfield for the first time, I wasn't sure that they would pass me into the Sixth Illinois Volunteers. After that little war was over and we made our first little adventure into imperial domain, colonies; when we got the Philippines and Puerto Rico, and sort of exercising a sort of sovereignty over Cuba—when that war was over they had a dinner at the Embassy in London. There were various Americans who proposed their toasts. The first speaker, "Here's to the United States of America bounded on the north by Canada, on the south by Mexico, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean and on the west by the Pacific."

The second speaker said, "In view of the changed historical factors, I will offer a toast to the United States of America, bounded on the north by the North Pole, on the south by the South Pole, on the east by the Rising Sun and on the west by the Setting Sun."

The third speaker said, "The previous toast has its merits,

out it does not sufficiently consider the future. I offer a toast to my country, the United States of America, bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis, on the south by the Precession of the Equinoxes, on the east by Primeval Chaos, and on the west by the Day of Judgment."

I say it's good, I say it's gathered, gathered something of the present hour when we are carrying burdens. Of course, I could quote here today the parallel of Lincoln in an earlier day, that heroic figure, that prophet of the free conscience and the free mind, Roger Williams, saying, "My duty is to be swift to hear and slow to speak." And, I am going to offer here today a speech of Lincoln's, that was printed in the *Rail Splitter*, a Republican Party campaign periodical, published every month during the campaign of 1860. In the October number they have a column and a half of a speech they attribute to Lincoln in 1858. The evidence isn't absolute that we have Lincoln's words, but, if they are not Lincoln's words, they are those of someone who had a rather sublime conception of American destiny and purpose as a nation; and it is undoubtedly, I think it will be generally agreed on, the finest tribute ever paid to, the keenest interpretation ever made of, the Declaration of Independence; and here it is (I could mention that it's running in the current *Collier's* magazine of this week, for any of you who care to go the second time to the text):

The Declaration of Independence was formed by the representatives of American liberty from thirteen States of the Confederacy—twelve of which were slave-holding communities. It is sufficient for our purpose that all of them greatly deplored the evil and that they passed a provision in the Constitution which they supposed would gradually remove the disease by cutting off its source. This was the abolition of the slave trade. So general was the conviction—the public determination—to abolish the African slave trade, that the provision which I have referred to as being placed in the Constitution, declared that it should not be abolished prior to the year 1808. A constitutional provision was necessary to prevent the people through Congress, from putting a stop to the traffic immediately at the close of the war. Now, if slavery had been a good thing, would the Fathers of the Republic have taken a step calculated to diminish its beneficent influences among themselves, and

snatch the boon wholly from their posterity? These communities, by the representatives in old Independence Hall, said to the whole world of men "We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We have heard that so often from a variety of sources that it has become in a certain sense, platitudinous. Lincoln, at that point in his speech, proceeded to take it apart and wrap it up in this way:

This was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to *all* His creatures, to the whole great family of man.

Perhaps I could pause for this annotation about the number of times that Lincoln used that expression "the family of man." I don't know that it is used with a similar frequency or at all by other American statesmen and orators. He had some sort of conception of humanity the earth over being a family. Used that expression "family of man" as though there is a kinship, an undeniable kinship between all creatures that are human. Almost a paraphrase of the old Roman philosopher who said, "I am human and nothing that's human is alien to me."

Yes, gentlemen, to *all* His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the Divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on and degraded, and imbruted by its fellows.—They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity.

I wouldn't be sure but I think that's perhaps the only time that Lincoln ever used that word "farthest."

They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of posterity to breed tyrants; and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxons, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take

courage to renew the battle which their fathers began—so that truth, and justice, and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land: so that no man hereafter would dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines which conflict with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence, if you have listened to suggestions which would take from its grandeur, and mutilate the symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are *not* created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our charter of liberty; let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the revolution. Think nothing of me—take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever—but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I *do claim* to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety to office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. *But do not destroy that immortal emblem of Humanity—the Declaration of Independence.*<sup>1</sup>

It has been worth the time to be with you, and your faces have been good to see out in the sun of this autumn morning.

I am sure all of you know, whenever you consult your hearts, that we've got responsibilities on us—every one of us—as individuals we've got responsibilities, of the kind that Lincoln took on himself in those years of the 1850's, when he was one of the living, quivering units of an awful human crisis. Your faces have been good and it's been good to be here.

I clean forgot about this guitar. Perhaps with a song that's out of the years of Lincoln, out of the 1830's it seems; having to do with a point in Southern Illinois. Quite sure that Lincoln probably heard the song, "Shawnee Ferry."

I should have made some reference, perhaps, to the good time we had last night. Old corn-fed boy from Camp Point stood up,<sup>2</sup> 'twas an hour or so. He gave us the best biography

<sup>1</sup> Carl Sandburg, *Lincoln Collector* (New York, 1949), 31, 34.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Historian Allan Nevins who delivered an address the previous evening on Stephen A. Douglas. This paper was published in the December, 1949, issue of this *Journal*.



ever done of Stephen A. Douglas. He made Douglas terrible human.

#### SHAWNEE FERRY

Way down upon the Wabash, sich land never known,  
If Adam had passed over it, the soil he'd surely own,  
He'd think it was the garden he played in when a boy  
And straight pronounce it Eden in the State of Illinois.

Then move your family Westward, bring all your girls and boys,  
And cross at the Shawnee Ferry to the State of Illinois.

'Twas here the Queen of Sheba came with Solomon of old,  
With an ass load of spices, pomegranates and fine gold,  
And when she saw this lovely land, her heart was filled with joy—  
Straightway she said, "I'd like to be a Queen in Illinois."

Then move your family Westward, bring all your girls and boys  
And cross at the Shawnee Ferry to the State of Illinois.

She's bounded by the Wabash, the Ohio and the Lakes,  
She's crawfish in the swampy lands, the milk-sick and the snakes,  
But these are slight diversions and take not from the joy  
Of living in the Garden Land, the State of Illinois.

Then move your family Westward, bring all your girls and boys,  
And cross at the Shawnee Ferry to the State of Illinois.

# COMMENCEMENT WEEK IN 1876

BY WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

EDITOR EAMES, seated at his desk in the *Jacksonville Journal* office, wrote a paragraph for his column of local items:

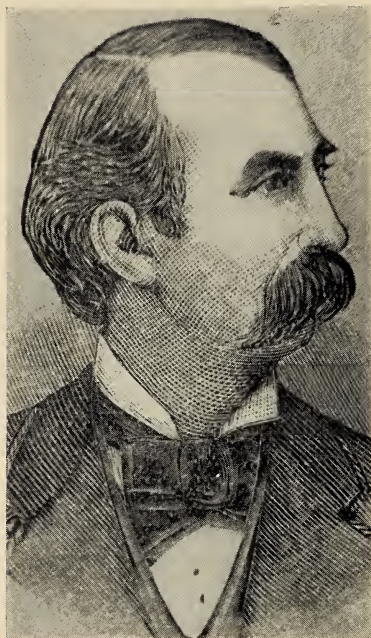
The air of the city is redolent with the peculiarly delightful fragrance of commencement bouquets. For a week to come we breathe nothing else. Public halls and churches will daily be crowded by those doing honor to young men or women who are bidding farewell to recitation rooms and school textbooks.<sup>1</sup>

It was May 26, 1876, and the educational ozone of the city *was* supercharged. Jacksonville, sprawling on the black earth of the flat prairies of central Illinois, was the seat of Morgan County, and the hub of a rich agricultural region. Its prosperous citizens had made their money in retailing, banking, and real estate. But it was not to Mammon that the town bowed its knee; instead, deep obeisance was paid to EDUCATION and CULTURE.

<sup>1</sup> All quotations are from the *Jacksonville Daily Journal*, May 26-June 2, 1876. They have been attributed to Charles M. Eames unless otherwise noted, because, as "local" it was his job to report events that took place in the city and because of his unmistakably unique style. Really Mr. Eames should be recognized as the coauthor of this article. It is his colorful prose that recreates "Commencement Week in 1876."

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Jacksonville was a city of schools. The founding fathers from New England, ably supported by those from the South, had prevailed upon the state legislature to locate institutions



CHARLES M. EAMES, as he appeared on the frontispiece of his book *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville* (1885).

for the education of the deaf, the blind, and the feeble-minded in the city. A well-housed and well-staffed public school system, including a four-year high school, was maintained. Three academies for young women flourished: Illinois Female College (Methodist, now MacMurray College), Jacksonville Female Academy (Presbyterian, absorbed by Illinois College in 1903), and the Young Ladies Athenaeum (nonsectarian, dissolved in the 1880's). Oldest of all, and then exclusively male, was Illinois College (founded in 1829 by the Yale Band of Congregationalists). Finally, there was Whipple Academy, the preparatory department of Illinois College, and Brown's Business

College. Because of its many schools, Jacksonville's cultural level was high. Poets, musicians, philosophers, doctors, theologians, and scientists were members of the faculties. The proud citizens called their town, "The Athens of the West."

The high priest of education and culture was Charles M. Eames, a native of the city, a graduate of Illinois College, and a bookseller and newspaperman who became half owner of the *Journal* in 1876 and assumed the duties of "local" (city editor). Eames was an active leader of the Sunday School movement and a stout supporter of every community cultural

enterprise. Later he compiled a history which he proudly entitled *Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville*. In his early thirties, Eames was a dignified little man with a high-domed forehead and a severly respectable "soup strainer" mustache.

By custom, commencement week preceded the Illinois College ceremony on the first Thursday in June, and in 1876 the first event was the high school program on Friday morning, May 26. At ten o'clock Mr. Eames crossed the public square to Strawn's Opera House, a theater on the second floor of a large brick building, and the city's largest auditorium. He climbed the steps, found a seat down front among the proud but nervous papas and mamas, noting that:

The great hall wore a gala dress. Evergreen wreaths and mottoes, bunting, flowers, and plants were tastefully arranged upon the stage, walls, and chandeliers. The audience was limited only by the capacity of the room, and came tramping in laden with bouquets for their favorites.

The expectant buzz of the audience became welcoming applause when the twenty-one boys and girls, in their stiff new suits and dresses, paraded onto the platform and sang Barnby's stirring "We March to Victory." Then, one by one, the graduates came to the rostrum and gave their painfully prepared essays and orations. First was E. S. James, "a young man of clear mind and good elocutionary powers," who spoke on "The Civilizing Influence of Commerce." Next came Miss Nettie G. Martin's "Hero Worship," an old subject, said Mr. Eames, "but there were original ideas in the essay and it was distinctly, and we might say, eloquently delivered. We were glad to see that she made no use of her manuscript." Essay, oration, declamation, vocal and instrumental solo followed in turn and reporter Eames commented favorably on every one. "Bravo, Harry, for your oration on 'Our Public Schools.'" "Our congratulations" to Miss Stella Prince, the salutatorian; her essay, "Legends of the Golden Age," was "delivered gracefully." On and on until Miss Fannie Scott, the valedictorian, read her essay, "Life's Work," when "she was much disturbed



by the passing out of those who could not resist the call of the dinner bell." But Fannie struggled through and "addressed remarkably fitting farewell words to superintendent, teachers, school companions, and classmates." And at last, at hungry last, Professor Harris, superintendent of schools, presented the diplomas, and a final chorus, Meyerbeer's "Vale of Rest," was sung.

In the evening the new high school graduates joined with those of former years at the second annual meeting of the Jacksonville High School Alumni Association in Odeon Hall. Here, said Mr. Eames, another "literary and musical program was enjoyed." At the same time the alumnae of the Young Ladies Athenaeum met at Conservatory Hall, and heard a round of songs and recitations, after earlier gathering at a table in the shape of a cross and "partaking of a supper of strawberries, ice cream, meats and relishes[!]"

There was a lull in commencement activities on Saturday, but Sunday was busy because there were four baccalaureate services and the Methodists held their annual Educational Meeting. Editor Eames attended two of the former, commenting that "the delightful weather gave the Presidents and Reverends large audiences in all cases." When he arrived at the First Presbyterian Church for the Jacksonville Female Academy service, he found that extra seats had been placed in the aisles to accommodate the crowd that came to hear the Rev. Dr. L. M. Glover, the pastor of the church, preach to the eight members of the graduating class on the subject, "Woman as Helpmeet." His text was Genesis 2:18, "It is not good that the man should be alone. I will make him an helpmeet for him." The sermon, so Mr. Eames concluded, was "food for thought for all the gentler sex."

After the sermon Mr. Eames walked the three blocks to his neat white frame house at Prairie and West State streets where he entered through the door bearing the shining brass plate with his name tastefully engraved in Roman capital

letters. (At least the 1876 Jacksonville directory gives this as his residence, and any passerby today can see the brass plate.) Mr. Eames, like most other middle-class citizens, probably ate a hearty dinner and took a short nap. And then, with pencil and notepaper, he headed two blocks south and one block east to the Congregational Church, where, at three o'clock, Illinois College held baccalaureate exercises. President Sturtevant preached eloquently to the class of '76 on the subject, "The Truth Shall Make You Free."

An important part of the week's activities at the women's schools was a display of artistic and musical talent. As an editorial in the *Journal* pointed out:

Literature, music, and art are inseparably linked together. In all our schools of higher grade the three departments are maintained with equal care. So now at the close of the scholastic year we find commencements, concerts, and exhibitions opened to the public that the proficiency of the pupils and the skill of the teacher may be known.

On Monday exhibitions of student water-color, oil, crayon, pencil, and charcoal pictures were on view, and at the Illinois Conservatory of Music (a part of the Young Ladies Athenaeum), Professor J. B. Poznanski presented the pupils in a program of instrumental and vocal selections. Monday was also a day for final examinations at the Female College and at Jacksonville Female Academy, and in the evening Phi Nu Literary Society of the Female College held its valedictory exercises.

On Tuesday, May 30, Mr. Eames was again caught up in the commencement whirl. At the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind closing exercises were held in the morning when classes were examined and a musical program was given. But the really important occasion of the day was the Young Ladies Athenaeum commencement at ten o'clock. Our reporter once again climbed the Opera House stairs to enjoy and record the proceedings. He said that at an early hour in the morning "gay groups, flower laden, wended their way" to the



STRAWN'S OPERA HOUSE AT JACKSONVILLE IN 1872

hall "from all quarters of the square." When it was time to start, "the spacious room was crowded full, looking as bright as a garden of roses." Onto the specially enlarged stage came the trustees, followed by the local clergy. Then Professor Poznanski signaled with his violin bow and the faculty instrumental ensemble attacked the overture to von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, and in came the "white robed candidates for the laurels of the day—a triumphal procession of beauty filled the stage." After Dr. Eli Corwin, the pastor of the Congregational Church, said a prayer, the graduates presented their essays, played their instrumental "pieces" or sang solos and duets.

The first essayist, Miss Sophie Dale, "by quotations from ancient writers and from historical sources, proved the immortality of truth," but Mr. Eames was not impressed and said only that the essay was read distinctly. Nor did he warm up when Miss Alice Hinman played Berg's "Galop di Bravura," declar-



ng it to be only a "pleasing, difficult, but well mastered piece." And our Mr. Eames continued to sit on his hands through the essays "Hidden Treasures," "1776 to 1876," "Nature Delights in Variety," and a vocal solo and another piano piece. But when Miss Carrie Whittlesey sang the "Scena ed Aria" from Verdi's *La Traviata*, he enthusiastically applauded:

Such a rendition of so difficult and highly classical a selection reflects the greatest credit upon the talented young musician. Jacksonville audiences have paid high prices to hear poorer music, and voices less sweet.

The warm glow carried over to the next essayist, Miss Lida Scripp, who spoke on "American Women." He said it was a "capital effort" and the "distinct articulation made it appreciated by the audience."

Mr. Eames was evidently a lover of Italian music. He said of another soloist who sang "Non Più Mesta" by Rossini, "It abounded with runs which her young voice is so well calculated for, and was given with that animation, expression and purity which always pleases an audience." In the 1870's there was great popular interest in the ornate, but dramatic and lively Italian music.

The last essay was by the valedictorian, Miss Lulu Brown, who spoke on the subject, "*Non nobis solum*," the class motto, which Mr. Eames translated for his readers: "Not for ourselves alone." And then Professor Sanders, the principal, presented the diplomas and the pupils sang a closing chorus. Later in the day the alumnae of the Athenaeum met and a reception for the graduates was held in Conservatory Hall.

Mr. Eames, however, chose to attend in the evening the public exercises of the Jacksonville Female Academy alumnae in the First Presbyterian Church. Here the Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Tuttle, president of Wabash College, delivered the principal address on, "The True Sphere of Woman." Mr. Eames liked the speech, and commented upon it at length, noting especially this gem, "Woman should be Man's beloved, his glory, his crown." At the other end of town, the Illinois Female College



alumnae held their business meeting and the Belles Lettres literary society its valedictory. But that there was a lighter and more romantic side to commencement week was clear because Editor Eames, probably from direct observation, noted that "these are the nights when a young man's thoughts are lightly turned to some one else's sister."

Wednesday morning the fine weather of the last few days broke, and a heavy rain continued all morning while the Jacksonville Female Academy held its graduating exercises at the First Presbyterian Church. Mr. Eames, faithful to our trust in him, was there, commenting:

It never rains but it pours. This highly original proverb is always exemplified in commencement times when every day brings the increasing multiplicity of social, musical, and literary entertainments. It is doubly illustrated this year because the gentle rain of early morning betokened so much good in alleviating the annoyance caused by heat and dust, soon became a pouring rain that continued until nearly noon.

The wetness kept many people away, but, said Mr. Eames, "the attendance was large enough to fill every seat in the house with one of the quietest, most orderly audiences we have seen on such an occasion." The by now familiar round of essays and musical solos was given, and the eight graduates received their diplomas from Professor E. F. Bullard, the principal, who took the opportunity to address the young ladies and point out to them that "the true aims of life beyond the merely animal desires are in the domain of virtue and intellect."

That afternoon Mr. Eames crossed the square and walked out East State to Illinois Female College, then housed in a fine new brick building, erected just five years before. Fire had destroyed two previous ones. Here, in the college yard, was held the class day ceremony. To our reporter this was a welcome relief from the solemnity of commencement exercises and baccalaureate sermons.

Of all the exercises connected with the closing of a scholastic year, none are so much enjoyed or as long remembered by those who bid adieu to alma

mater as those of class day. Then the burdens of examinations and dignities of commencement are laid aside and the exuberant spirit, the wit and love of the average school boy or girl are allowed to burst forth unrestrained.

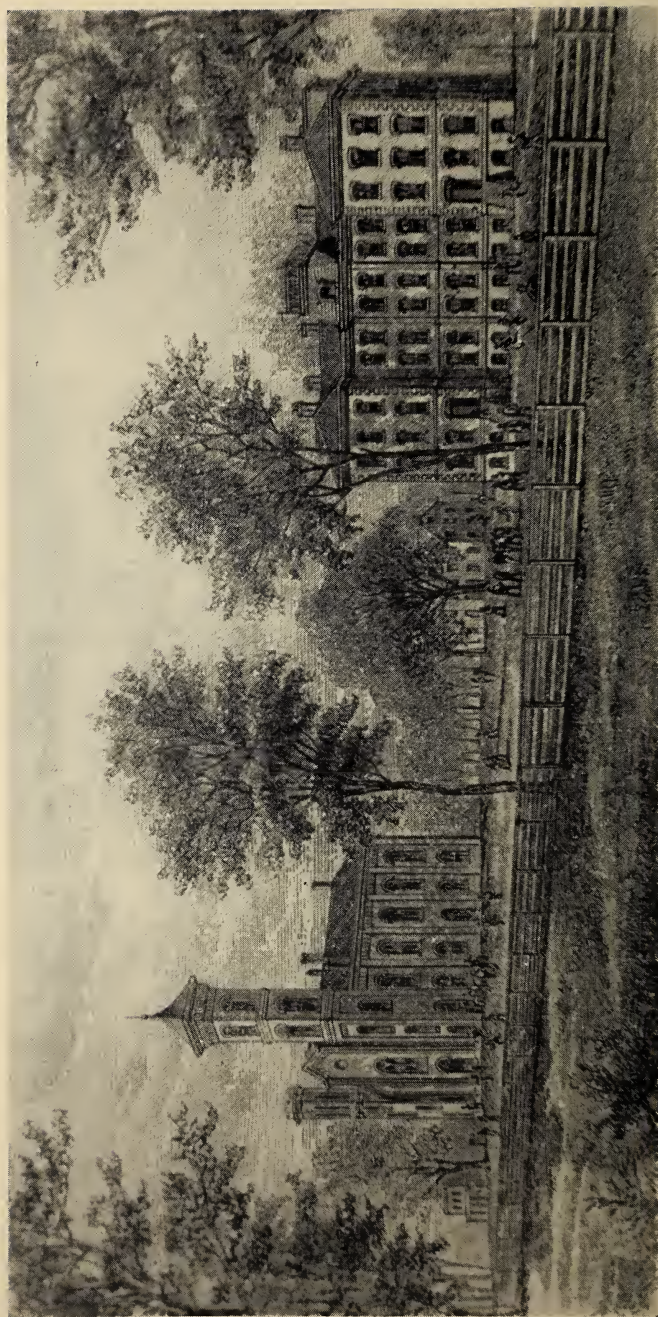
He continued,

The class of '76 of the Illinois Female College, choosing red for their color (on account of their *rediness* for fun, we presume), and realizing that "a little nonsense now and then is relished by the best of men," women, boys, and girls . . . adopted as their motto for the nonce, "Wisdom at times is best forgotten."

The class of '76 "arrayed in neat calico" took its place on the platform. President William F. Short was seated in a special chair, "the most dilapidated easy chair the College could furnish, indicating the humorous character of the programme to be carried out." Then followed song parodies, burlesque recitations, and prearranged stunts. The class chronicle was read, and the combined weight, age, height, and length of tongue of the members were given. Mr. Eames thought the best thing on the program was "Selections," not from the old masters, but the favorite sayings and daydreams of the class. He said it was "rich and apposite."

But the most "irresistibly funny exercises were the presentations. Every member received a surprise in the shape of a present to carry home as a memento of the day and year." The class president and vice-president, "as brimful of fun as all ought to be gave the gifts with appropriate explanatory remarks. None but those who know the class can appreciate the humor." And Mr. Eames was right, as all who remember their own class days can understand.

While Mr. Eames was laughing at the Female College Class Day, Phi Alpha, literary society of Illinois College, held its thirty-first anniversary exercises and its sixteenth reunion. Mr. Eames was not there because he was a member of the rival society, Sigma Pi, and the Sigs and Phi's held reunions in alternate years. The orator for the occasion was the Hon. Henry S. Van Eaton of Woodville, Mississippi, who spoke on "The Mis-



ILLINOIS COLLEGE AS PICTURED IN A JACKSONVILLE CITY DIRECTORY OF 1876-1877



sion and Reward of the American Scholar." After the address the poet of the day, Dr. N. Wright of Chatham, paid tribute to the founders of the college and to the founders of Phi Alpha in a poem that "abounded in serious and humorous parts, happily interspersed."

The Phi's held their banquet at Jacksonville's leading inn, the Dunlap House, and the reporter said:

It was "one of those occasions which only Phi Alpha's know how to enjoy and appreciate. . . . After supper the cloth was removed and the toasts and their responses were given, varied with excellent music in the way of college songs by a quartette. . . . The exercises were continued to a late hour. After closing with "Auld Lang Syne," the large crowd dispersed, all voting it one of the happiest reunions the society had ever enjoyed.

Meanwhile Mr. Eames was at the Female College attending the alumnae reunion. It was held in the chapel, and "the room was well filled with an intelligent and appreciative company, mostly there by special invitation." He did not report the meeting at length, saying only that "Mrs. J. N. Ward, President, discharged her duties gracefully" and that "the lengthy address of Mrs. Belle Drury, '63, abounded in deep thought and beauty of expression." Afterward Mr. Eames joined the other invited guests "in doing substantial justice to the repast that was spread in the college dining hall."

On his way back to the *Journal* office, Mr. Eames stopped in at the Jacksonville Female Academy's senior reception where there was "music, chit-chat, promenading and picture gazing and meetings and partings of old school mates without number." It was just this sort of busy day that weary Mr. Eames had in mind when he first compiled the day by day program of Commencement Week. He said then, "It does seem as if the conductors of our literary institutions might arrange their anniversaries so as to occupy two weeks instead of one, and thus avoid so much conflict and crowding."

But the high point of the great week was at hand. On Thursday at nine o'clock Illinois College commencement was



held in Strawn's Opera House, and at two the Illinois Female College ceremonies were held at Centenary Methodist Church. Mr. Eames attended both. Amid fresh floral decorations President Julian M. Sturtevant of Illinois College, "invoked the Divine Blessing upon the exercises" and:

The orchestra—the favorite Italian band of Derago—entertained the audience for a few moments. The Latin Salutatorian, Charles Henry Dummer, of our city, made his most graceful bow, and with scholarly fluency and precision, well modulated voice and easy gesture, saluted the audience.

One after the other the nine members of the graduating class delivered their prepared addresses, concluding with "Modern Society," the valedictory by Carl E. Epler. Then, and it was nearly noon, President Sturtevant conferred four bachelor of science degrees and five bachelor of arts.

In the afternoon Mr. Eames once again crossed the square to Centenary Church on East State Street and found himself a part of a large crowd. Illinois Female College graduated the largest class of any of Jacksonville's schools, and Mr. Eames said that "hundreds were turned away unable to gain admission, and those who were inside were so crowded as to have their enjoyment of the exercises greatly marred." And that was too bad, because on the platform was "as brilliant a class of graduates as ever left any of our seminaries. . . . The semi-circle of twenty-three bright eyed, richly dressed, flower-trimmed fair ones, will long be remembered."

Mr. Eames began to give his usual full report on each graduate's performance, but soon realized that if he did there would be little room in his paper for anything else. But he did say a few commendatory words about each oration, essay, or solo. The humidity increased steadily in the packed church and thunder rolled in the distance, and when the last of the young ladies left the rostrum, President Short hurriedly presented diplomas to eleven Mistresses of English Literature and Arts and twelve plain Mistresses of English Literature, and because of the "threatening aspect of the weather," spoke just

a few words, but those were "very comprehensive and timely."

This last day of commencement week was brought to a close in the evening by the Illinois College Alumni Anniversary and the Illinois Female College senior reception, and then Mr. Eames had time to reflect on the week's activities. It was his conclusion that:

The whole has been a succession of intellectual feasts, and that they have been most heartily enjoyed by all our citizens. . . . Jacksonville has long been familiar with college commencements, for she is the oldest educational town in the West, and her people feel a peculiar pride in all that pertains to her literary institutions. . . . If they shall continue to do so, and speak a good word for them, at every opportunity, the morn of their prosperity and mighty power will just now have only dawned, and Jacksonville will continue to send out a constant stream of healthful influences which shall bless the whole land and make her name ever glorious.

And that was commencement week in Jacksonville in 1876. It is still a city of schools, and each year its citizens, in spirit at least, fervently repeat Mr. Eames's prayer.



## THE FRONTIER IN ILLINOIS HISTORY

BY RAY A. BILLINGTON

THE historian who attempts to isolate the unique characteristics of the people of any American region must search for clues in both their imported traits and the environmental influences operating upon them. Of the latter, none has been more influential than the impact of the frontier; in the continuous rebirth of civilization that occurred during the settlement process both men and institutions were "Americanized" as inherited practices or traits were cast aside. This mutation followed no set pattern, for in no two regions of the West were the ingredients of the new society—man and nature—blended in identical proportions. At times man was so influenced by tradition that he refused to bow completely to the forest environment; thus the Massachusetts Bay Puritans were too united by religious ties to respond to the centrifugal forces of wilderness life. At other times the environment was sufficiently overwhelming to create utterly distinct behavior patterns; the Mormons who settled the deserts of Utah exhibited few of the traits usually found on the frontier. In relatively few areas were the two ingredients sufficiently balanced to create a com-

*Ray A. Billington, William Smith Mason, professor of history at Northwestern University, is the author of The Protestant Crusade (1938), and Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (1949), The paper published here was read at the forty-ninth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society.*

pletely typical result. One favored spot where this occurred was Illinois.

This can best be realized by restating several general propositions concerning the frontier process, then applying them to the early history of the state.

First, the frontier was an area where man's inherited institutions were significantly altered by natural conditions. Illinois offers a unique example of this transformation, for within its borders are two differing soil areas, each of which influenced not only the settlement process but subsequent economic developments. These resulted from two of the glaciers that ground their way southward during the Pleistocene Age. One, the Illinoian Drift, covered the state as far south as the Ohio River, leaving behind as it receded a rugged hill country littered with glacial debris, and a compact clay soil marked by the absence of such essential elements as sulphur, potassium, carbon, and nitrogen. At a later day in geological history a second ice sheet pushed slowly down from the north—the Wisconsin Drift. Grinding down hills into smooth prairies, this glacier left behind a level countryside and a light loam soil rich in both the humus and chemicals needed for fertility. The Wisconsin Drift, however, did not benefit all parts of the state equally. The extreme southern limit of its advance was marked by the clearly defined Shelbyville Moraine, the most important natural boundary in all Illinois. Pioneers were quick to notice the difference between lands lying north and south of this dividing line. Above the moraine the countryside was level, the soil deep, and the swamps numerous—swamps that could readily be drained to form humus-rich fields of immense productivity. Below, the rugged hills and glacier-strewn waste discouraged frontiersmen.

For a century both land prices and agricultural yields confirmed the judgment of the first settlers. In 1904, for example, lands just north of the moraine sold for from \$75 to \$125 an acre; those to the south for \$30 an acre. In the same year fields



in Coles County, lying in the glaciated area, yielded thirty-six bushels of oats or forty of corn to the acre; in Cumberland County, just to the southward, only twenty-eight bushels of oats or thirty of corn were produced. Higher yields, in turn, allowed a greater degree of population concentration; a typical county north of the moraine contained 42 per cent more people than another to the south. This reflected a more advanced stage of urbanization, on which depended cultural progress. The counties north of the Shelbyville Moraine, with more taxable wealth, could support better schools, colleges, libraries, and similar intellectual agencies.<sup>1</sup> Although twentieth-century industrialization has lessened the effect of this natural boundary, Illinois' early history provides an outstanding example of that impact of nature on man, which typified the Americanization process.

Secondly, the frontier was an area where men of all sections and all nations met to form a new society, enriched by borrowings from many lands. In few other areas of the West did the accident of migration result in such a thorough blending of many racial strains as in Illinois. From the Southeast from the Middle States, from New England, from older states of the Northwest, and from Europe came the state's pioneers, each contributing new flavor and new strength to the social order that evolved.

The first settlers were from the South. Some came from the seaboard regions, but more left homes in the uplands of the Carolinas, Virginia, Tennessee, or Kentucky, where a mingling process had already produced a mixed population from Scotch-Irish, German, and English strains. Skilled in the techniques of conquering the wilderness, these sturdy woodsmen were crowded from their old homes by the advance of the plantation frontier during the first quarter of the nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup> George D. Hubbard, "A Case of Geographic Influence upon Human Affairs," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, Vol. XXXVI (March, 1904), 145-57. A briefer account of the effect of the glaciers on Illinois soils is in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850* (New York, 1935), 254-55.

entury. Moving northward over Kentucky's Wilderness Road, or drifting down the Ohio River on flatboats, they reached such embarkation points as Shawneetown by the thousands, then fanned out over the trails that led to the interior: some along the Great Western Road through Kaskaskia and Cahokia to St. Louis, others along the Goshen Road toward Alton, still others northward through Carmi to Albion after that town was founded in 1818.<sup>2</sup> Filling in the rich bottom lands of the Ohio and Mississippi first, they soon spread over the forested portions of southern Illinois, seeking always the dense timber that testified to good soil. There they girdled the trees, planted their corn, raised their log cabins, split rails for their worm fences, shook through regular attacks of malaria, and steadily extended their civilization over a widening area.<sup>3</sup>

The predominantly southern character of Illinois' early migration cannot be overemphasized. In 1818, when the first rough survey was taken, 38 per cent of the settlers were from the South-Atlantic Seaboard, almost 37 per cent from Kentucky and Tennessee, 13 per cent from the Middle States, 3 per cent from New England, and 9 per cent from abroad. Thus 75 per cent of the people were from the South, as opposed to 25 per cent from all the rest of the United States and Europe.<sup>4</sup> Nor did this ratio change during the next decade; as late as 1830 observers believed that Illinois was on its way to becoming a transplanted southern commonwealth, with all the institutions—including slavery—of its sister states south of Mason and Dixon's Line.

Then the tide turned. The Erie Canal was responsible. The opening in 1825 of that all-water route between the Hudson River and Lake Erie shifted the center of migration north-

<sup>2</sup> Road building in early Illinois is described in Theodore C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (*The Centennial History of Illinois*, II, Springfield, 1919), 10; Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917), 114-25; and Arthur C. Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830* (Chicago, 1908), 156-58.

<sup>3</sup> The most thorough account of the early settlement is in Boggess, *Settlement of Illinois*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, pp. 94-95.

ward as New Englanders and men from the Middle Atlantic States found the gateway to the West open before them. Now the Great Lakes, not the Ohio River, formed the pathway toward the setting sun. From Buffalo, New York, steamboats carried pioneers to new towns that sprang up as embarkation points: Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, and Chicago. In 1834 80,000 people followed this route westward; eleven years later the number reached 98,000. Michigan and Ohio attracted some, but Illinois, which was scarcely settled north of Alton was the mecca of more.<sup>5</sup> As they landed on the Chicago wharfs that frontier hamlet blossomed overnight into a booming city. Such was the demand for buildings to house the newcomers that lots which sold in the spring of 1835 for \$9,000 fetched \$25,000 four months later.<sup>6</sup> Most stayed in the cramped city only long enough to lay in supplies for the overland trip to the farm at the end of their rainbow. As they flooded over the countryside the statistics of the government land offices told a dramatic story: a quarter of a million acres were sold in 1834 two million in 1835, almost four million in 1836.<sup>7</sup>

The newcomers were as predominantly northern as the earlier immigrants were southern; fully 75 per cent were from north of the Mason and Dixon Line. Some came in groups from their native New England, fully equipped with pastor, schoolmaster, and eastern ways of life. Rockwell, Tremont and Lyons were planted in this way between 1833 and 1836 a year later Wethersfield was laid out by Yankees whose childhood had been spent in the shaded streets of that old Connecticut village.<sup>8</sup> More came as individuals or in families bringing with them the habits of their native New England and an insatiable thirst for land that did not, as one advertise put it, stand on edge. As they came they transformed northern

<sup>5</sup> The settlement of Illinois after 1830 is admirably described in William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850* (Madison, 1908), *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Pease, *The Frontier State*, 177.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 174-75.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 178-79.

Illinois into a replica of the Northeast, just as southern Illinois was a duplicate of the Southeast. "Each of these two fountains of our civilization," wrote the editor of the *Democratic Monthly Magazine* in 1844, "is pouring forth its columns of immigrants to the Great Valley, forming there a new and third type that will reform and remold the American civilization."<sup>9</sup>

Yet no frontier state could be typically American without the invigorating impact of European migration. Illinois benefited from the transfusion of this fresh blood during the 1840's. First to come were Irish peasants who drifted westward as laborers on canals and railroads; many eventually settled along the path of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. They were soon joined by German pioneers who had been driven from their homes by a devastating potato famine. Taking advantage of the cheap transportation offered by returning cotton ships, they reached New Orleans, then traveled up the river to the cheap lands of Missouri, Illinois, and Wisconsin. With them came a sprinkling of intellectuals fleeing the political tempests of 1848. Few in numbers but large in influence, these leaders injected German customs and thought into the Illinois social order to a degree rarely equalled in other states.<sup>10</sup>

If an Illinoisan had paused to take stock of his state at the close of the settlement period he would have been proud of what he saw. In few commonwealths was acculturation so complete. Here in 1850 lived 334,000 native sons, 138,000 born in the South, 112,000 from the Middle Atlantic States, 37,000 from New England, 110,000 from the other states of the Old Northwest, and 110,000 foreign born.<sup>11</sup> Each group contributed something to the composite whole; each made Illinois more completely American. "The society thus newly organized and constituted," wrote a Westerner, "is more liberal, enlarged, un-

<sup>9</sup> *Democratic Monthly Magazine*, June, 1844, quoted in Henry C. Hubbart, *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880* (New York, 1936), 30.

<sup>10</sup> A brief account of foreign migration to Illinois and the Old Northwest during this period is in Turner, *The United States*, 277-88.

<sup>11</sup> Turner, *The United States*, 270-71.



prejudiced, and, of course, more affectionate and pleasant, than a society of people of *unique* birth and character, who bring all their early prejudices, as a common stock, to be transmitted as an inheritance in perpetuity."<sup>12</sup>

Illinois' good fortune was in marked contrast to the fate of its neighbor, Indiana. When the settlement of the two territories began, they seemed destined to follow a parallel course. To Indiana, as to Illinois, came the southern migratory stream, to fill the southern third of the state in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. If the frontier process had operated normally, New Englanders, men from the Middle Atlantic States, and Europeans would have moved into its northern portions. That they failed to do so was due to two unhappy circumstances.

One was the state's bad reputation. Travelers who entered Indiana from the northeast were forced to cross the elongated morass along the Maumee River known as the Black Swamp, then thread their way across the swampy tablelands of the upper Wabash where drainage was so poor that water frequently covered the trails even in periods of normal rainfall. They never forgot this first impression. In books, in newspaper articles, and in conversations they always referred to "the swamps and bogs of Indiana"—a phrase soon indelibly associated with the name of the state. In vain did Hoosiers protest that the prairies of Illinois were no drier; for decades northern pioneers passed over poorly advertised Indiana.<sup>13</sup>

An even more effective deterrent to settlement was the activity of land speculators, of whom a Hartford businessman, Henry L. Ellsworth, was most prominent. Impressed with the beauty and richness of Indiana's prairies while on a western trip in the 1830's, Ellsworth moved to Lafayette in 1835 and promptly began amassing land until his holdings totaled

<sup>12</sup> Timothy Flint, *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley* (Cincinnati, 1833), I: 140.

<sup>13</sup> This theme is developed by Richard L. Power, "Wet Lands and the Hoosier Stereotype," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXII (June, 1935), 33-48.

18,000 acres. He farmed them so profitably, even after the Panic of 1837, that other Easterners made similar investments. Ellsworth encouraged this; in his little book, *The Valley of the Upper Wabash* (1838), he promised to farm prairie land for any investor, paying the owner 8 or 10 per cent, and taking his own profit from half the remaining surplus. Numerous Easterners entered into such contracts with Ellsworth; others were persuaded to buy Indiana lands by his advertising. Within a few years their holdings blanketed the central and northern portions of the state, effectively discouraging settlement by the five-dollar-an-acre price demanded for resale. Not until the 1850's did mounting taxes force the speculators to unload; then purchasers were principally younger sons from southern Indiana who moved northward in search of land.<sup>14</sup> Ellsworth's propaganda and poor advertising, by closing the gates to pioneers from the Northeast and Europe, deprived Indiana of that population blending that so benefited Illinois.

Thirdly, the frontier was a region where mechanical ingenuity was highly developed in the never-ending battle between man and nature. In Illinois settlers were forced to display a higher degree of adaptability than on most frontiers, for they faced a natural barrier that would have proved insurmountable to men of lesser stature: the vast central grassland. This was a forbidding obstacle to pioneers trained by two centuries of experience in the technique of clearing wooded areas. They had learned to judge the fertility of land by the density of its forests, to build their homes and fences from the plentiful wood supply, to secure their fuel from the wilderness, to obtain water from springs or streams, and to depend for shelter on the bands of timber left standing when fields were cleared. The habits of woodland pioneering were so deeply engrained in the average pioneer that any deviation was difficult if not impossible.

<sup>14</sup> The influence of speculators on the settlement of Indiana is described in Paul W. Gates, "Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie Counties of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XXXV (March, 1939), 1-26.

Yet that adjustment had to be made before Illinois could be settled. In the northern portions of the state vast fields blanketed by six-foot-tall grass were interlaced with forest lots or crisscrossed by the bands of timber that followed every stream, but in central Illinois the prairies stretched away to the horizon on every side. Every instinct told the pioneer to avoid these grasslands. How could soil that would not support trees grow crops? Where could he get wood for his cabin, his fences, and his fuel? How could he obtain drinking water in a region where sluggish streams were thick with silt? How could he farm fields that were turned into swamps by every rainfall? And, most important of all, how could he bring the prairies under cultivation when tough sod shattered the fragile cast-iron plows which had proved adequate in timbered areas? Those were the problems that had to be solved before central and northern Illinois could be settled.

Little wonder, in view of these obstacles, that the shift from forest to prairie was made slowly. Farmers in the wooded areas along the Fox and Rock rivers first began pasturing their cattle on near-by grasslands, then experimentally turned under some of the sod. When the land proved productive, others imitated their example, until a ring of farms surrounded the open grassland. Each year the cultivated fields were expanded until eventually they met. By 1850 all the grasslands of Illinois were under the plow save the central portions of the Grand Prairie. Not until the Illinois Central Railroad penetrated that region five years later was the last unsettled area occupied.

No simple account of the settlement of the state reveals the inventiveness, ingenuity, and boldness displayed by the Illinois pioneers. They overcame one of their most deep-seated prejudices when they learned that a soil's richness could not be determined by the density of its timber. They discovered that "stone coal" could be brought in more easily than wood for heating. They learned how to sink wells, and developed both well-drilling machinery and windmills to ease the back-break-

ing task of providing water. They discovered that co-operative efforts were necessary for drainage. And they invented special plows, pulled by from four to six oxen, to break the tough sod. The expense involved in the use of these cumbersome contraptions, which could be hired from a local operator at a rate of from two to five dollars an acre, created a demand for more efficient equipment which sent inventors to their drafting boards; one landmark was passed in 1837 when John Deere gave the world the steel plow. They learned to plant a "sod crop" by cutting upturned furrows at intervals with an ax, then dropping in a few kernels of corn. Although these fields could not be cultivated, the good Illinois soil produced yields up to fifty bushels to the acre, while the roots helped break up the rotting sod.<sup>15</sup>

Learning new techniques and inventing new implements, the Illinois farmer not only solved one of the most troublesome problems faced in the conquest of the continent but by his very ingenuity stamped himself as a typical product of the American frontier.

Fourthly, the West was a region where democratic theory was enshrined and democratic practices perpetuated. Living in a land where all men were reduced to equality by the greater force of nature, conscious of the economic opportunity that promised to make the poor rich, and impatient of restraints from uninformed Easterners who knew nothing of western problems, the frontiersman insisted that each man's right to rule himself was as fundamental as his right to good land. The Westerner made few contributions to the mechanics of democracy, for in the realm of theory he was imitative rather than inventive, but he did show a marked tendency to adopt the most liberal practices of the East he had left behind. Illinois, as a typical frontier state, exhibited this tendency admirably.

<sup>15</sup> The difficulties of prairie farming are clearly described in Paul W. Gates, *The Illinois Central and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, 1934), 12-15. See also Bogges, *Settlement of Illinois*, 165-66, and Turner, *The United States*, 295-97.



Its people's democratic faith was first reflected in the Constitution of 1818. At this time Southerners predominated; in the constitutional convention twenty-one were from the South, two had been born in Illinois of southern parents, five came from the Middle Atlantic States, and only one from New England.<sup>16</sup> Despite this influence toward conservatism, despite even the perpetuation of slavery—in the form of indentured servitude—the Illinois constitution was a model of democratic practice. Based on the frames of government already adopted in Ohio, Tennessee, and Kentucky, but going beyond them in the direction of popular rule, it vested virtually sovereign power in the legislature, while reducing the governor to a mere figurehead. True, the chief executive, together with the justices of the state Supreme Court, constituted a council of revision empowered to veto acts of the assembly, but as laws could be passed over the veto by a mere majority vote, this meant nothing. Property qualifications for voting and office holding were swept away, and all adult males who had lived in the state for six months were allowed to vote. Mounting western nationalism was reflected in a provision that the governor must have been a citizen of the United States for at least thirty years.<sup>17</sup>

The Constitution of 1818, democratic as it was, only paved the way for still more liberal changes during the next years; eventually even the state judges were popularly elected. Illinois, a frontier state, believed, even before Lincoln's classic statement, in rule of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Fifthly, the frontier was a region of optimism, of boundless belief in the future. The Illinois frontiersman shared with his fellow Westerners an exuberant faith in progress; like them, too, he had a rambunctious confidence in his ability to make his dreams come true. One manifestation of this spirit was his willingness to support colleges. Although primary edu-

<sup>16</sup> John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII, no. 3 (Sept., 1939), 358-78.

<sup>17</sup> Pease, *The Frontier State*, 33-35.

cation was not fully established until the passage of the school law of 1855, institutions of higher learning began to multiply a quarter-century earlier, many of them church-supported schools dedicated to the task of producing intelligent congregations and learned ministers. By 1840 the thinly settled, poverty-ridden Prairie State boasted no less than twelve colleges. Pioneers unable to read and write were anxious to contribute time and money to assure their children a better opportunity, their community a richer culture. In few other states were frontiersmen willing to invest so heavily in the future.<sup>18</sup>

On a less elevated plane, frontier optimism in Illinois found expression in speculative land buying. In no other wilderness commonwealth were so many acres engrossed by jobbers, so many "paper towns" laid out, so much absentee capital invested, in the years before 1850.<sup>19</sup>

They were legion, the starry-eyed speculators who gobbled up the forests and prairies of the state. Many were farmers who bought more land than they could use, hoping to sell off the remainder to later comers; in 1850 seven million acres of Illinois land that had been sold but not improved was largely held by such purchasers. Others were local businessmen or politicians who accumulated strategically located lands against the price rise they believed inevitable. Still others were wealthy Easterners or Southerners whose careers were devoted to speculation. Men of this ilk engrossed 6,000,000 acres in Illinois between 1847 and 1855 by buying up soldiers' warrants at from fifty cents to a dollar an acre; others of the same fraternity bought 7,000,000 acres of rich countryside near Springfield between 1833 and 1837. A favorite occupation of all these speculators was the accumulation of prospective town sites.

<sup>18</sup> Pease, *The Frontier State*, 434.

<sup>19</sup> Land speculation in Illinois is discussed in several articles by Paul W. Gates: "Disposal of the Public Domain in Illinois, 1848-1856," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, Vol. III (Feb., 1931), 216-40; "Frontier Landlords and Pioneer Tenants," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 2 (June, 1945), 143-206; and "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. LXVI (July, 1942), 314-33.

Scarcely a bend or fork of a stream deep enough to wade in, scarcely a bay on Lake Michigan that would shelter a row-boat, scarcely a spot on any imagined canal or railroad that might conceivably be built in the future, that was not grabbed up by some land jobber. Most of these never got beyond the "paper" stage—where maps were drawn to induce gullible Easterners to buy town lots—yet in one northern Illinois "town" that had only one house, lots sold for \$2,500 each, while a Chicago observer, witnessing the mad scramble for town sites, seriously proposed reserving one or two sections in each township for farming!

Finally, the frontier was an area where opportunism, rather than an enduring belief in any one theory or system, shaped the character of economic life and thought. Students of the westward movement, failing to recognize this, have frequently insisted that the West was a region of economic radicalism, of *laissez faire*, of rugged individualism. True, the frontiersman was an economic radical on occasion, but he was just as likely to be found among extreme conservatives; he was an individualist if such a course seemed feasible, but he did not hesitate to embrace the cause of collectivism if that path promised greater profits. He did believe in *laissez faire*—some of the time—but he was ready to demand national or state aid, and even governmental ownership of essential services, if such a course seemed wiser. The frontiersman, in other words, was a practical realist who believed in following the path that promised greatest immediate returns, regardless of past precedents. An opportunist rather than a theorist, he showed no embarrassment when forced to shift his thought with the changing times. The Illinois pioneer reflected this point of view. His vacillating opinion on the question of state-operated transportation facilities and on matters of finance illustrated how well he fitted into the frontier mold.

He first became aware of the transportation problem in the 1820's and 1830's when accumulating agricultural sur-

pluses in interior Illinois brought home the need for highways to the main trade arteries of the West: the Mississippi River system and the Great Lakes. Statisticians were everywhere present to demonstrate the profits that would go to the pioneer if these could be built. A bushel of corn, they pointed out, sold in the interior for from twelve to twenty cents; at Chicago or on the Ohio River that same bushel fetched fifty cents. As the average farmer produced sixty bushels to the acre, lead-pencil engineers needed only enough ciphering paper to prove the stratospheric profits that would be the farmer's with better outlets. For every hundred-acre farm the increased return would be \$1,800 a year; for the ten million acres soon to be in production the saving would be \$180,000,000! Roads and canals would transmute Illinois' poverty into luxurious affluence. So all agreed, and they were equally sure that these outlets could only be built by the state government, which alone boasted resources and credit adequate for the giant task. By the beginning of the 1830's all Illinois was advocating an important experiment in state socialism.

Thus was the stage set for the fabulous internal improvement program launched during the next decade. An approving populace watched delightedly as the legislature authorized construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, secured a land grant from Congress, and placed the credit of the state behind the canal bonds that were marketed in the East and England to finance the project. This simply whetted the popular appetite for more. The canal benefited only one corner of Illinois; why should the rest be neglected when state-constructed railroads and canals would not only pay for themselves and enrich shippers but assure such profits that taxes could be abolished? Swept along on this wave of enthusiasm, Illinois adopted its famous Internal Improvements Act of 1837. This fantastic measure pledged the 400,000 poverty-ridden inhabitants of the frontier state to spend more than \$10,000,000 on a network of railroads and canals which would crisscross in



every direction. If the program had been less grandiose, and the times more auspicious, Illinois' dreams of a state-operated transportation system might have been realized. Instead the mere magnitude of the plan, the lack of managerial skill among those entrusted with its administration, and the Panic of 1837, brought a speedy end to the whole project. By 1841 work was at a standstill.<sup>20</sup>

The effect of this debacle on public opinion was great. As Illinois farmers viewed the visible remains of their wrecked hopes—half-completed road beds, untidy slashes that marked the beginning of canals, a \$15,000,000 state debt, a 50 per cent increase in land taxes, debt repudiation—a feeling of revulsion against state ownership swept across the state. During the next few years the one completed railroad, the Northern Cross which had cost \$250,000, was sold for \$21,000 without a voice being raised in protest.<sup>21</sup> The people wanted no more public control; private enterprise could run the risks in the future. For the next generation the citizens of Illinois advocated *laissez faire* as strenuously as they had governmental ownership a few years before.

Their frontier-like tendency toward opportunism was even better illustrated when two panics during the pioneer period brought them face to face with an age-old question: what banking and currency system would assure security and prosperity for their state? Twice they tried to solve the problem, and each time their answers differed.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Discussions of the internal improvements program will be found in both the general histories of Illinois and in such specialized works as: James W. Putnam, *The Illinois and Michigan Canal: A Study in Economic History* (Chicago, 1918); Judson F. Lee, "Transportation. A Factor in the Development of Northern Illinois Previous to 1860," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. X, no. 1 (April 1917), 17-85; and John H. Krenkel, "Financing the Illinois Internal Improvements Mid-America, Vol. XXIX (Oct., 1947), 211-44. Briefer accounts are in Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 21-22, and Pease, *The Frontier State*, 194-235.

<sup>21</sup> H. J. Stratton, "The Northern Cross Railroad," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXVIII, no. 2 (July, 1935), 5-52.

<sup>22</sup> The state's changing attitude toward banks is described in Charles H. Garnett, *State Banks of Issue in Illinois* (Urbana, 1898), *passim*, and more fully in George W. Dowrie, *The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863* (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. II, no. 4, Urbana, 1913), *passim*. Material will

The issue first arose in the era of hard times following the Panic of 1819. What was needed to stem the downward trend, all agreed, was more money. This could best be provided by local banks, backed by the faith and credit of the state, which could issue paper currency. On the crest of this pro-bank sentiment, the legislature in 1821 chartered the Bank of Illinois, capitalized at \$300,000 to be subscribed by the state, and authorized to issue bank notes in small denominations to the full extent of its capitalization. The notes were made legal tender for all public and private debts; any creditor who refused to accept them was prohibited from seizing property pledged as security for at least three years. This, in other words, was an inflationary measure, designed principally to increase the amount of circulating currency. Popular meetings in Illinois and elsewhere went even farther along the path toward inflation by demanding a complete paper currency bearing no relationship to specie.

The inflationary trend was accentuated during the prosperous 1830's when money was in great demand for land speculation, business expansion, and the internal improvement program. By this time the State Bank of Illinois, with headquarters at Springfield, had joined the Bank of Illinois in catering to the state's financial needs. Both of these institutions were called upon to aid the public works program that was launched in 1837. This was done by increasing their capitalization, turning over to them state bonds in return for shares of bank stock, and then borrowing back the bank notes issued on the basis of the state's own securities. Officials honestly believed that this flimsy process would not only supply money for internal im-

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Also be found in such general accounts as: Harry E. Miller, *Banking Theories in the United States before 1860* (Cambridge, 1927), 171-220; Leonard C. Helderman, *National and State Banks* (Boston, 1931), 53-62, 115-22; Sr. M. Grace Madeleine, *Monetary and Banking Theories of Jacksonian Democracy* (Philadelphia, 1943), 15-27, 30-31, 75-78; Reginald C. McGrane, *The Panic of 1837* (Chicago, 1924), 38-39; Samuel Rezneck, "The Depression of 1819-1822, a Social History," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXIX (Oct., 1933), 28-47; and Samuel Rezneck, "The Social History of an American Depression, 1837-1843," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XL (July, 1935), 662-87.

provements but eventually pay for all construction, as the bank stock was expected to pay annual dividends of from 8 to 10 per cent. These returns, plus tolls from canals and railroads, would soon retire the entire investment and provide so much income that taxes could be abolished! This was the talk, not of wild dreamers, but of sober businessmen and state leaders.

Illinois learned its lesson when the Panic of 1837 tumbled down its speculative house of cards. With hard times antibank feeling swept across the state. Farmers who owed money to the banks grumbled that they could not continue their payments. Others who were paid for their produce in the depreciated notes of the two institutions complained that they were being swindled. Still others lost heavily when the banks finally collapsed. More were convinced that there was a direct connection between the banks and the panic. The depression, they told themselves, was a product of the wild currency fluctuations that followed the overissue of state bank notes. These might benefit eastern capitalists, but every fluctuation drove the poor man, who could never understand such financial mysteries, deeper into debt. His only protection was to abolish banks and paper money, returning to the security of a solid gold and silver currency. "A bank of earth is the best bank," wrote one, "and a plow share the best share," while another declared: "Banks to help the farmer appear to me like feudal lords to defend the people." The Illinois farmer of the post-panic era was the most conservative of all Americans on financial questions.

The reaction of the state's pioneers to the panics of 1818 and 1837 demonstrated the opportunistic nature of frontier economic thought. In one case they moved leftward along the road to inflation; in the other they swung so far to the economic right that the nation's business leaders and bankers seemed financial radicals by comparison.

Reactions such as these stamped the Illinois frontiersman as typically American. He was typical, too, in his optimism, his

emocracy, his ingenuity, and his faith in progress. Molded by the frontier environment and strengthened by contacts with fellow pioneers from all the western world, he served as a perfect answer to Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's famous query: "What then is the American, this new man?"





## CHANGING URBAN PATTERNS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

BY BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

THE city of the Mississippi Valley like the city of all nations and of all times is the symbol of integrated social and economic relationships; it reflects the multifarious expressions of an electorate, both literate and illiterate. It is the focus of the refinements of life; the cultivator and disseminator of the arts not only to those who dwell within its gates but to those in its far-flung hinterland. Only a short time ago, as time runs its long course, it was the home of the child of the forest and the red man, then of the sturdy and sometimes lawless pioneer, who, in turn, was followed by prophets of the future adventuring into a settled community life, shortly and magically to be dissolved into large aggregations of people of diverse faiths and practices.

The urbanization of the Mississippi Valley is the most impressive fact of the history of this section in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Throughout the vast extent of the great Middle Valley its people are today under the dominance of its cities, a situation which sharply differentiates the present from the prevailing way of life of only a hundred years ago.

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Cities are, therefore, a satisfying observatory from which to view the changes that have gone on. Virtually all the forces that have concerned men have had benevolent or malevolent influences within the urban domain. From this domain have flowed the major currents of freedom and tolerance, of progress and invention, of humanitarianism and applied Christianity, to be challenged at times by the opposing currents of restraint and bigotry, of reaction and of inhumanity.

The term Mississippi Valley can be interpreted literally as that territory which lies nearest the river; or it may be considered broadly as Professor Turner chose to think of it—as that territory which includes “the whole interior basin, a province which drains into nearly two thousand miles of navigable waters of the Mississippi itself, two thousand miles of the tawny flood of the Missouri, and a thousand miles of the Ohio.”<sup>1</sup> The Turner definition obviously permits a wider range of treatment than one resting upon political and administrative lines. This wider view grants greater exactness and completeness, and expands the opportunities of understanding.

Most, if not all, the cities of the Valley later to attain economic hegemony and wealth passed through similar stages of development and experienced like growing pains. In chronology their evolution varied a little, but not much. It was the days of urban maturity, not of early youth, that bred differences of any magnitude, and that accentuated the gains for which all had striven in the days of urban adolescence.

Not long after the first explorers had opened up the vast area through which “the Father of Waters” flowed, trading posts arose where later were to be great cities of the Valley. The transition into settled communities or trading towns was as easy as men sought the comfort of sociability. Here was what Plato long ago described as characteristic of city life: a division of labor into different employments; into wholesale and

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 79.

retail trade; into workers and makers of workmen's tools; a place where imports were required and which, in turn, stimulated a variety of produce to attract purchasers. As the community grew, it became the center of an export trade as well as an intra-bargaining point. As the village advanced beyond a purely agricultural economy, specialized traders gained power and helped bring about the town's ascendancy over the surrounding country. While this economic strength developed, the town more and more tapped the near-by country for its supplies and customers. A mutual advantage and dependence were thus realized, which freed these early settlers from a life which might otherwise have been nearly like that of the savages.

By mid-nineteenth century, towns, especially those in the eastern part of the Valley which later illustrate the different stages of urban development, had, in reality, attained stability in economic and social contacts. By this time, also, they had donned the political habiliments of the older East. Within the next twenty or thirty years they were to feel the effects of the economic revolution, to pass from commercial to industrial centers with ever lengthening lines of contact. The sources from which flowed this well-being were similar, and were illustrated most spectacularly in the rise of Chicago from trading post to town in 1833, to trading center before 1850, and by 1870 to mistress of commerce, to be succeeded by an inspiring and prophetic industrialization. Parallel ran the currents of financial dominance and intellectual controls. By the 1850's the drawing of checks against the proceeds of loans by Chicago banks had become an accepted practice especially among dealers in grain; and country banks, correspondents of the Chicago banks, held produce drafts on Chicago houses and used these bills to obtain currency from the city banks.<sup>2</sup> By this time, too, book depositories and religious and secular publishing organs in Chicago sent out their representatives to the

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<sup>2</sup> Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1940), II: 134.

surrounding countryside. As early as 1866 Joseph Medill claimed in the West a quarter million readers of the *Chicago Tribune*, which, along with other newspapers of shorter life, played a part in shaping opinions and making the Northwest Republican.<sup>3</sup>

The primacy which Chicago thus enjoyed and which she had gained in less than a generation rested first upon grains, lumber, and livestock and its ally meat packing. They were foundational in the structure upon which Chicago early rested her widening economic leadership. In the future, as in the past, her unrivaled position as terminal point on lake, canal, and railroad certified a continuation of these achievements. And, carried onward by the impulse of the economic revolution in the years following the Civil War, she was thus able to forge ahead of her hopeful rivals, outstripping them through robust daring and deft planning.

The fecund years of late nineteenth-century America saw the development of the city's iron and steel industry, which, as early as the 1850's with the opening of the rich iron deposits of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, coincided with the establishment of Chicago as key point in railroad extension, and marked the city as the natural manufacturing center of railway iron and iron for structural purposes. By the eighties the march was under way which transformed Chicago into a great steel-producing center.

With this fourth and enduring factor in establishing her as core city of the Valley, Chicago had acquired an impregnable position. The basic economic resources—grains, lumber, livestock and meat packing, and iron and steel—were also the economic resources of other cities of the section, providing the sustenance upon which they fed and measuring the expanse of their urban horizons. A similarity of enterprise was thus experienced, modified by environmental factors and the subtle

<sup>3</sup> Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 412-21. Volumes I and II of Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (published 1937 and 1940) and succeeding volumes in manuscript are the sources on Chicago throughout this paper.



forces implicit in chronology and man. These products of the farm, forest, and the mine meant for all an influence over the surrounding country and a constant struggle for more and wider zones of contact.

In 1850, among the cities of the Valley, Chicago had a population of about 30,000, St. Louis had reached 77,860, and New Orleans 116,375. St. Paul had scarcely 1,100 inhabitants (1,112), and Duluth was unknown to the census-takers. The next decades were to see the effect of swelling waves of immigrants whose settlement was to aid in shifting economic and urban dominance.<sup>4</sup> This vast migration of peoples from east to west harmonized with the movement of areas of production and trading, exemplified in the passage of the biggest wheat area from Ohio and the states to the east into Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin before the eighties, next to move its center across the River.

Before the close of the century the Mississippi Valley states had irrevocably engaged in the urban march. They still had a large rural population and tended to be, in many of their practices, small-city rather than big-city commonwealths. This distribution of the population into city, town, and rural area assured an interaction of the rural and the urban, which eventually transformed the open countryside through the same osmotic processes that had earliest and most extensively manifested themselves in the economy of the city and town. A cultural lag, or the retention of ruralism, was conspicuous in social, intellectual, and political undertakings. This was particularly noticeable in the realm of government. Charters modeled for a rural way of living provided instrumentalities of government patently unequal to the task of solving problems evoked by the new economic order. Sometimes identical

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<sup>4</sup> In 1850, for example, Chicago had, in round numbers, 52 per cent foreign born. St. Louis had 51 per cent, and Milwaukee had 64 per cent. In 1880, the percentages were as follows: Chicago 41, St. Louis 30, Milwaukee 40; in 1890, Chicago 41, St. Louis 25, Milwaukee 39. See United State Census for appropriate years. The preceding list is illustrative and by no means exclusive.

in phraseology, these charters meant a similarity not only in form but in heritage. Modified by needs which arose in each locality, they often preserved a likeness in change. Ruralism persisted in the midst of a growing urbanism, and the necessity of caring for a vestigial ruralism consumed more of the government's attention than chronology would have implied. As late as the 1870's, for example, a part of the work in which the Lincoln Park Commissioners engaged was the watching of cows, owned by residents of Chicago's North Side who pastured them during the day in the woods and fields north of the city. As they were driven home at night, the cows, attracted by the greener "browsing" along the new Lake Shore Drive, chose that route until it became necessary to impound the cattle.<sup>5</sup>

In the midst of such bucolic scenes, rings and political bosses rose to power unhindered by the electorate, all too often absorbed in the struggle for economic gain to be thinking of civic virtues. As manhood suffrage was extended, the personnel of government frequently embraced those of little training and aptitude, and the looting of the public treasury became common. Temptations to grasp the rich offerings of public franchises and contracts and the rewards of the patronage multiplied as peoples massed in the larger places.

To care for many new community problems, however, new instruments of government developed and elective boards and commissions reflected the effort to meet insistent needs. These agencies were not always manned by the best qualified, and there followed appointive boards, whose efficiency and honesty measured the perspicacity and honesty shown by the mayor in his selections. But aldermanic confirmation of such appointments kept good men at times out of the service, although eventually this deterrent to good government had to give way to the demand that the mayor alone be responsible. The number of occasions in which the state legislature could

<sup>5</sup> I. H. Bryan, *Report of the Commissioners and a History of Lincoln Park* (Chicago, 1871), 40.

interfere and control the city evidenced a distrust which held captive the minds of men, especially those delegated to the state legislature by the rural areas. The Illinois Constitution of 1870, drawn in this atmosphere, is, with slight change, still the law of one of the leading industrial states of the Union, despite unsuccessful attempts to adapt this organ to the needs of a new world.

As the cities increased in number and in size, political control passed from the hands of the old native stock. Before the Civil War political leaders of many communities were generally of American background and frequently possessors of economic and professional power in the community. After the War foreign names figured more often as potential candidates. The passing of the old Puritanical Sabbath, occurring first in the cities, reflects the influence of these newcomers; and the issuing of proclamations by the mayor in foreign languages, as well as in English, mirrored the difference between the one-time small and integrated American town and the large and disparate city.

As urban ways came to differ more and more from those of the far-flung rural areas, the realization of these differences, when not enchanting, served to create estrangement. "Hayseed," "rube," and "hick" signified an urban condescension which included those who lived even in towns smaller than the large cities. It is not strange, therefore, that tillers of the soil frequently suffered from "an inferiority complex," which led to resentment of anything considered "citified." Farm journals and farm leaders undertook to re-establish the ancient love of the country of which poets and philosophers had sung. As speculative enterprises advanced appreciably the holdings of men of wealth, the farmer's alarm increased. When it was pointed out that many great city fortunes were built up by cornering food products, he was shocked to think that man's wealth could be founded on the abhorrent system of "gambling." Seldom did he consider that the practice of speculating

was not always the sole possession of the city dweller, and that, indeed, the lure of speculation drew into its net men of various ranks and vocations. As farmers organized they campaigned against the great exchanges, not exempting from attack marketing agencies through which their products were sold.<sup>6</sup>

This fear of the power of the economic machine and what it had done to a once ruralized country penetrated and distorted other responses, some of which were shared even in the city where social distances were lengthening. Crime and suffering came to be identified with the city, and examples of urban evils fortified the credulous protagonists of rural virtues.<sup>7</sup> Movements to depart from the religious orthodoxy of the time, progressing more rapidly in the city than in the country, met the disapproval of the conservative everywhere. Hostility to immigrant groups in general, hatred of foreign contingents for one another, fear of an organized labor force and of labor's demands were reflections of national not merely rural attitudes, but which were more readily decomposed in the city, ever susceptible to the cross-fertilization of new and numerous ideas.

On the other hand, an economic philosophy to fit the new business structure, quickly evolved and widely advocated, out-distanced other judgments. The concentration of capital was

<sup>6</sup> In 1910, for example, the Chicago Board of Trade lobbied in Washington against the Scott, Burleson, and other bills designed to prevent dealing in futures on boards of trade. The restrictive proposals were supported by the Farmers Union, the Society of Equity, and a number of cotton growers and manufacturers. U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Hearings before the Committee on Agriculture during the Second Session of the Sixty-First Congress, II, Hearings on Bills for the Prevention of "Dealing in Futures" on Boards of Trade, etc.* (Washington, 1910), especially pages 435-69, 555-79; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Sixty-First Congress, First Session* (Washington, 1909), 44, 61, 163; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Sixty-First Congress, Second Session* (Washington, 1910), 95, 168. See also on the subject of farmer antagonism to Chicago Board of Trade and other marketing agencies: *Chicago Record-Herald*, Feb. 19, 1910; Willett M. Hays, "Functions and Needs of Our Great Markets," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XLV (Jan., 1913), 249-50, 253. The hostility of farmers in the 1870's and 1880's is an earlier and perhaps more familiar example. The Non-Partisan League has opposed the dominance of the Twin Cities.

<sup>7</sup> Fiction writers relied heavily on this theme. *Suppressed Sensations; or Leaves from the Note Book of a Chicago Reporter* (Chicago, 1879), and the ex-detective Lawrence L. Lynch's *Shadowed by Three* (Chicago, 1882), for example, shocked readers by the descriptions of crime in Chicago.



viewed with Carnegian enthusiasm. John V. Farwell, rich Chicago businessman and civic leader, while decrying, as did others, a "monopoly of labor," viewed combination and consolidation with sanguine eye. "I say thank God for monopolies especially brains and capital," he was reported to have said as he pointed with pride to business developments envisaged as blessings to the country and as signs of national progress. Indeed, he added, the accumulation of capital is "the germ of all progress in civilization and in the elevation of the masses." Labor ran head on into this functional philosophy as workmen sought a *rationale* for organization and strikes. Not satisfied with the protection they received from the police in times of labor uprisings, businessmen provided their own armed constabulary, and, through an agitated public demand, were the recipients of a legal security not extended to their employees.

With the influence of core cities, reaching more deeply into the countryside as the years went on, political boundaries were superseded in importance by lines marking the metropolitan region. St. Louis, although not fulfilling the promise of the 1840's and 1850's, has, nevertheless, become in many respects the capital of Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and Tennessee, and to some extent of southern Illinois and Iowa. The Twin Cities are the capital of the great Northwest. They hold in their sway the Dakotas, Montana, Washington, northern Wisconsin, and to some degree the Northern Peninsula of Michigan. Chicago's initial thrust of pre-Civil War days was strengthened and lengthened as time went on, and her empire came to include the rich states of Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

This evolution of the metropolitan region accentuated the characteristics initiated earlier, and the twentieth century has

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<sup>8</sup> *Knights of Labor*, May 29, Aug. 7, 1886.

<sup>9</sup> For example, see the anti-boycott law of Illinois. A city or county was made responsible for three-fourths of the damage done to property by a mob. *Laws of Illinois*, 1887, pp. 167-68, 237-38. For further illustrations see Earl R. Beckner, *A History of Labor Legislation in Illinois* (Chicago, 1929).

seen the fruition of the expansive processes which had been at work. With an increase in numbers of people has come a multiplication and greater complexity of services in all aspects of life, physical and spiritual. At the same time anonymity is a part of the urban design. Neighborliness and a sense of close kinship are not as prevalent as under the rural order. Urban solidarity, however, tends to exist through ethnic, religious, fraternal, civic, and similar organizations.

Characterized as it is by uniformity, the city nonetheless displays great diversity. Individualism as seen in specialization finds rich rewards, and genius gains an appreciation not common to less cosmopolitan and sophisticated society. Here extremes have their fullest and clearest expression, and several worlds, or divergent ways of life, are found in the one great world of the city. This is especially true within the core city, but the influence of these forces is felt, if not reproduced, in the entire metropolitan region. Rural life today bears the unmistakable characteristics of urbanism, from which it could not escape if it would, because of the infiltrating and cementing forces of modern business organization aided by recent achievements in universal communication. Moreover, the dominance which a core city enjoys within its metropolitan area does not exclude dependence upon and rivalry with other metropolitan capitals. St. Louis and Detroit, for example, are satellites of Chicago, just as Chicago, for the greater part of her history, has been in many ways a dependent of New York.

Evolving at first without plan, the metropolitan area soon became the recipient of planning. Without endangering many of the advantages possessed by the central city, decentralization has developed of late. Peripheral areas have grown in population while the core cities have decreased.<sup>10</sup> The growth of new markets has induced the establishment of outposts of business organization, as in the case of livestock and meat

<sup>10</sup> Of forty-four metropolitan districts, central cities in 1900 had 77.3 per cent of the total population of the districts; in 1940 they had 67.1 per cent. See United States Census for appropriate years.

packing. The natural process by which markets and packers follow the shifting areas of production has tended toward the establishment of new markets and packing points in the great livestock-producing regions north and west of Chicago. Since about 1920 decentralization in both marketing and packing activities has been especially marked. Kansas City, Omaha, Sioux City, and St. Paul, for example, have been able to reduce the margin of leadership long held by Chicago. As a primary grain market, Chicago has lost ground to regional markets such as Duluth, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Wichita, all of which are nearer the center of the grain belt. Minneapolis since 1883 has topped Chicago in wheat receipts, and Kansas City has pressed hard upon the Illinois city. Similarly, as the geographic location of major lumber-producing areas shifted, with consequent changes in the distributive mechanism, Chicago and, in turn, other markets were affected. Iron and steel follow much the same pattern.

Alongside these maturing processes of internal contact went those of world association. In their earliest days the towns of the Mississippi Valley became the home of men from across the seas. Foreign capital helped raise the economic structure and foreign visitors, writers, artists, and musicians enriched the cultural offerings of the American settlements. Economic distress in the marts of these midwestern cities reverberated abroad. The Chicago Fire of 1871 not only precipitated a sharp decline in railroad stocks in New York, but caused a depression abroad, rates on London falling two to two and one half below par of gold or the point at which it could be exported. As early as the sixties European carpets covered the floors of midwestern homes, and at the same time preserved beef from Chicago appeared on the dining tables of Englishmen.

Such slender ties have, of course, been greatly strengthened as the cities of the Middle Valley have come of age. It has been inevitable that these cities, only briefly possessing iso-

lation from the territory near at hand and which they soon abandoned, could not retain an isolation long in a world joined by cultural and technological ties. These world-wide contacts are representative of the change which has come about. The pattern of the frontier has given way to the pattern of the world city of today.







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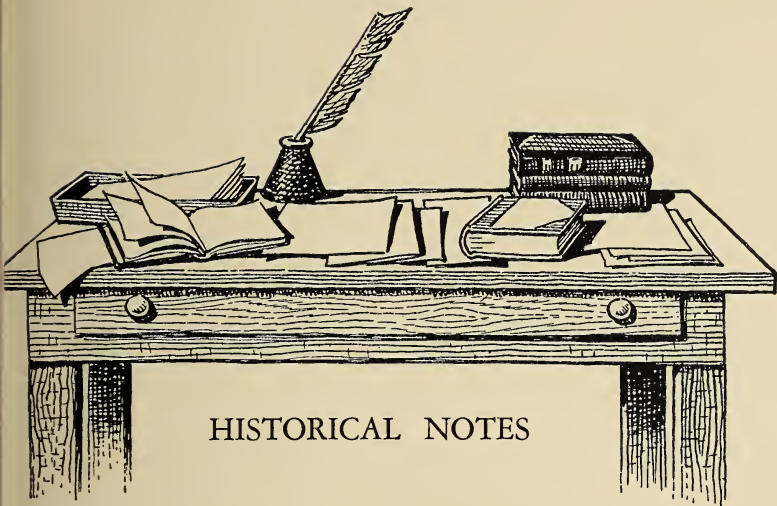
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### DO YOU KNOW YOUR ILLINOIS?

These silhouettes represent ten familiar Illinois landmarks. How many of them can you identify? Grade yourself: Nine or ten is excellent; eight good; seven, fair; six or less, poor. Turn to page 68 for the answers.



## HISTORICAL NOTES

### ALLAN NEVINS ADDS TO HIS BIOGRAPHY OF DOUGLAS

When Allan Nevins spoke at the Sponsors' Dinner of the Illinois State Historical Society on October 7 (see "Stephen A. Douglas: His Weaknesses and His Greatness" in the December *Journal*) Carl Sandburg called his talk the best biography ever done of Stephen A. Douglas." (See page 13.) And now Historian Nevins sends added proof of Douglas' greatness. This material was to have been inserted in the original article but arrived too late for publication. In the December *Journal* Historian Nevins wrote:

Douglas' greatest single service to his country was this gallant effort to recall the South, as Lincoln's election became certain, to its duty in the Union; his bold attempt to warn Southerners that any secession would mean Northern coercion and war. In the late summer of 1860 he loomed up as incomparably the bravest, wisest, and most candid statesman in the land.

Now Nevins elaborates on these assertions:

The full meaning of this effort is not expressed in any of his surviving letters and speeches, and may easily be missed. It is stated in but one place: in Henry Adams' article "The Secession Winter, 1860-61," in the forty-third volume of the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Through his father, Charles Francis Adams, then a Massachusetts Representative who knew a good deal of Douglas, Henry Adams had learned the deeper significance of Douglas' tour.

The leaders of the cotton states had resolved to form a great new slave confederacy encircling the Gulf of Mexico. A widespread, intricate, and well-timed conspiracy had been formed. After the breakup of the Baltimore convention in the spring of 1860 had made it clear that the Democratic Party

was doomed to defeat, the most active guides of the Deep South had framed an astute plan. They nominated Breckinridge; they resolved to try to give him the votes of all the slave states; in particular they meant to carry Virginia and Maryland for him. If the election was thrown into the House, or if the Republicans carried it, the leaders of the cotton states then intended to execute a *coup d'état*. They would declare Breckinridge the properly-elected President, use Howell Cobb, Jacob Thompson, and John B. Floyd, three Southern cabinet members, to take control of Washington, and call on the Southern states to support their *de facto* government.

This was the conspiracy as Douglas described it to Charles Francis Adams. It was to defeat this conspiracy that Douglas invaded Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, speaking with militant force. And he gained his main object. In Virginia he broke the Southern line—he and the Bell-Everett ticket. He gained little for himself; but he believed later, and so told Charles Francis Adams, that he made it impossible for the fire-eaters to carry out the conspiracy. They could secede; but they could not seize Washington.

#### NOTE ON THE NEW NAUVOO

At Iowa State College, Dr. B. W. Hammer and Dr. C. B. Lane experimented with bread mold and milk in an effort to find the secret of how the delicious cheese of Roquefort, France, was made.

They succeeded in producing a mold on rye or whole-wheat bread in sterile flasks, a potent mold closely allied to penicillin the drug.

They also discovered that while goat's milk was used in France, cow milk and their penicillin mold would produce practically the same blue veined cheese, noted for its peppery, piquant taste—but damp caves were necessary.

O. H. Rohde, a graduate of Iowa State College, became intensely interested. He learned of the vacant wine cellars built by the Icarians in Nauvoo, Illinois, and on investigation found they were suitable for the culture of blue cheese. Today, Nauvoo Blue Cheese can be bought in many of the principal cities of the world.

Its fame has spread rapidly. Charles B. Driscoll in his newspaper column "New York Day by Day" gave Nauvoo Blue Cheese his heartiest recommendation, saying: "This is a tastier cheese than we used to get from the caves around Roquefort, in France."

Each year, starting on Friday of the second week in September, and continuing for three days, Nauvoo holds a Grape Festival. Each evening, the ceremony of the Wedding of the Wine and the Cheese is held. Nauvoo is the only place in the United States where this fete is observed. The program is patterned after those of a similar nature held for centuries in southern France. A Grape Queen is crowned. Conducted tours are made to all the historical places and entertainment is plentiful.

The schoolhouse built by the Icarians from the stone of the famous Mormon temple still stands near some of the Icarian apartment houses. The old Indian trading post by the river has been preserved and now houses a museum. The Mansion House, home of the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, is furnished practically the same as when it was first occupied over a century ago. The Nauvoo House, planned for a hotel, and the family burial ground near by, are all owned by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and free guide service is provided.

Joseph Smith's widow lived in Nauvoo until her death in 1879, loved and respected by all who knew her. In 1860, her son consented to carry on the work of his father and a church reorganization was effected. Many of the early members who had not allied themselves with the various factions, answered the call of the Reorganization. This group is known as the non-polygamous Mormons. They have always insisted that plural marriage and the other doctrines that were introduced, were no part of the original doctrine of the church. Their headquarters is now at Independence, Missouri, whence they were banished when they came to Nauvoo more than a century ago.

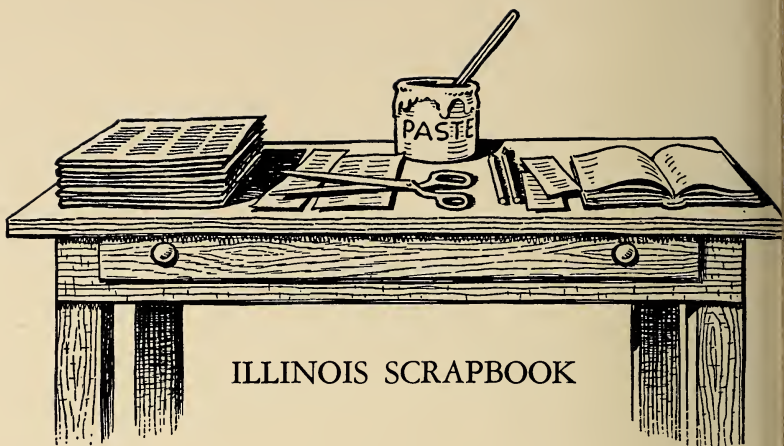
A scenic highway, rivaling that of the Palisades on the Hudson, extends along the Mississippi River leading to old Nauvoo. Thousands of tourists every summer flock to this beauty spot of the Mississippi Valley where a city of peace and prosperity has risen above the failures of the past.

*Nauvoo*

MABEL ATKINSON







### CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE FIRST STATE FAIR

*This account of Illinois' first State Fair appears in the New York Tribune for November 2, 1853.*

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Wednesday, Oct. 12, 1853.

On my way to this city, I encountered the first great storm of the season on Lake Erie; having taken passage on the *Empire State*, in charge of Captain John Wilson.

Delayed as we were for one day on reaching Monroe, Mich., the passengers held a meeting, the Rev. Mr. Wisner, of Lockport, presiding, and the writer of this letter, at the request of Hon. S. M. Burroughs, drew up resolutions in praise of Capt. Wilson and the *Empire State*.

Next to this, I encountered low water on the Mississippi—impatient for boats going down, that I might return home by way of Alton and make observations for myself and the readers of *The Tribune*, who take a deep interest in the developments made at this great Fair of the Northwest. The boats delayed, my patience was clean gone, and my only course was to reach here by rail from La Solle [*sic*]. In our company down were the Directors of the Illinois Central Railroad: Messrs. Burrill, President,<sup>1</sup> Sturgis, Lee, Ketchum and others, including Col. Mason, the accomplished Engineer.

Telegraphic information had been sent back that rooms were reserved at the American, but I am sure that they are *few* that can certify to the truth of the message, for such crowds on carpets I never saw before; but, as there is fortune for the patient, I received an invitation to go with the Rev. D. Bacon,<sup>2</sup> of New-Haven, and try the hospitality of the Rev. Mr. Hale,<sup>3</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> William P. Burrill, Jonathan Sturges, O. H. Lee, Morris Ketchum, Roswell L. Mason.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Bacon.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Hale.

ty. He met us with a true Western welcome at midnight, and gave us just such comforts as weary strangers desire.

This morning it has rained hard, and such a continent of mud! it almost defies locomotion; but the carriages bear the signs "one dime to the Fair ground," and I took an early passage, the distance being a mile from the State house.

The dimensions are ample, and the charm of acres of young native oaks and the high points of observation, render the spot a well-chosen one.<sup>4</sup>

The mention of the fact that I wished to make some notes for *The Tribune*, secured all the attention I desired—a welcome to a sumptuous dinner-table—and I here mention my obligations to Mr. Francis,<sup>5</sup> Secretary of the Society, and Editor of *The State Journal*.

I begin with *Cattle*, which were the great feature in the Fair. The show was large for a Fair in an old State, and the marks of good blood and size of the stock spoke well for the enterprise of the farmer, and the quality of food which the prairie furnishes. A large number of owners have improved from the herd of Henry Clay. Certain it is, that neither Wadsworth, nor Vail, nor Morris, of your State, have made public any finer Durham stock than I see here. Several animals, owned by Chamberlain, and others by Dunlap, attract attention. The grass-fed stock show what can be done in this State for the beef-eating world. Cows, such as a Yankee would choose for good milkers, are not numerous, and of handsome, well-broken oxen, there is a lack. Many of the intelligent owners brought it out in conversation to me, a New-Yorker, that they read Mr. Robinson's cattle reports in *The Tribune*, and I am quite confident that gentleman would put aside several of the monster bulls as too coarse, and ask in their room the best cattle, 4 years-old, which can be raised, ready for the rail-car and New-York Market at Bull's Head.

*Horses, Mules and Jacks* made the next show, and the greater noise.

I think there could not have been less than 200 stallions on the ground. Mainly they are a low, heavy-limbed class, from an English draft stock. Mr. True,<sup>6</sup> of Bunker Hill, has good animals of this blood.

I was pleased with a small bay horse called Richard, in striking contrast to a large number whose necks were far from being "clothed with thunder." In my judgment, the Black Hawk horses, of which I saw but one, ought to be improved in this new State, where good carriage horses are wanted. Fine drivers, broke with taste, were wanting.

<sup>4</sup> The location of this first State Fair was a twenty-acre tract which later became Camp Yates (1861). This land is now bounded by the following streets: Washington, Monroe, Douglas, and Amos. The main entrance was on Washington Street.

<sup>5</sup> Simeon Francis.

<sup>6</sup> Moses True.

Jacks and mules are now bred with great care. Of the former there were several held at \$1,000 each. Mules bring, as a common price, \$500 the pair in St. Louis, and just now no pains are spared to secure the largest and most perfect animals.

Sheep just begin to attract attention in the State.—Years ago many failed in the business, and there is an ignorant opinion prevalent that the best of Sheep will become coarse and worthless. The real native Sheep no question will corrupt much good blood in crossing, but it is now proved that they may be crossed with profit, and the best of blood pays for importation.

On my way westward I met Mr. James McConnell of Springfield, a successful pioneer in this business, and he had in charge three French Merinos taken from the flock of Mr. Bingham of Vermont, at a cost of \$700. Himself and sons and son-in-law, own 14,000, and their clip is about 3½ pounds to a Sheep, and is worth this season, say 55 cents a pound. Mr. B. F. Hoppin, son-in-law, was formerly a farmer and Member of Assembly from Madison County, N. Y. He prefers sheep raising in the West to politics or any thing else in New-York. Thus far the sheep have gone through the winter without shelter and done well. Corn as it is cut up in the fields is thought to be cheap winter food. These sheep growers are so far enlarging that they have no lambs to sell from their flocks at less than \$2 each. What but capital to begin hinders thousand[s] of farmers in the State making their fortunes in a few years at this most pleasant business in a climate where but little hay is required, and that can be cut by horse power on vacant prairies to remain for year[s] to come.

I saw no "long wools," and but few Saxons; these last will not long be in favor. The most of the fine bucks, like that of Mr. True, were brought into the state. Fat sheep made only a meager show. This is a branch of business sure to be profitable, and in a few years monster Western fleeces will find place in the American Institute.

*Swine* were more numerous in the streets of the City of Springfield than in the pens on the Fair ground. I saw only one pair of Suffolk's, which I am sure may be crossed with profit on the Berkshire and other breeds.

Poultry of the Shanghai, Chittagong, Dorking and Poland kinds brought fancy prices, and coops of Hens and Geese were numerous.

Butter and Cheese were wanting, unless hid from a passing observer; indeed the ladies were occupied with guests in the house, and not in the show of things labelled, "hands off." Their bouquets I could have carried off with the same ease that Jenny Lind did those thrown at her feet on the stage in New-York.

Of the Grains and Vegetables, nature's wonders, for certain reasons shall not give the *whole* truth. That young children are in danger from the

galling ears of corn I can believe, since I measured stalks more than 17 feet high, on which the Corn was 10 feet from the ground, and then roots were in exhibition large enough to leave a pit dangerous to be open near school grounds.

The Fruit was superior, and this is the country for good flavor and the largest specimens. I measured one apple 26 inches in circumference. Wm. Stewart & Son, of Quincy, Ill., have a hundred varieties of trees, and it is only candid to confess that, for apples, Illinois is more than the equal of Newjersey. Peaches, too, are raised in great abundance.

The farming implements are legion and in those kinds most called for, here is a brisk competition. I cannot give the names of the exhibitors and the merits of each. The *wise* men can do that in your and other advertising columns.

I must pass many articles of domestic manufacture, and end my observations for the day.

#### THIRD DAY OF THE FAIR—Oct. 13.

It is a bright auspicious morning for the show. The country is rushing on, and the city will reckon its 10,000 visitors to-day. On yesterday's show I looked as the first effort of an infant State, sure to be one of the giants, saying[.], I have no doubt, more square feet of real soil in prairie already *sic* for the crop and the plow, than any two States on the Continent. A State or years in seeming bankruptcy, peopled by those so poor they could live nowhere else. Many fleeing with deep-rooted prejudices from slavery, not all manfully abjuring its maxims, now illustrating the worth of the College and Free School, and furnishing such arguments for Temperance men, as the people will ere long embrace and embody in law.

Railroads have caused a day to dawn here. Money, with all who are temperate and industrious, is plenty, and home manufactures are, with the improvements, now going on, only required to make these good times lasting and better. The old cradle and scythe have had their time and the horse is pressed into service. Once broad acres were sown from a bag thrown over the shoulders; now the sower rides in his carriage and scatters the grain, and these facts only indicate what is going on.

There was no strong drink on the ground, and the noisy were few. Let the whisky be thrown away, and works of taste and refinement will be visible more and more in all this country.

Yours, J. B. G.

STEAMER NEW ST. PAUL, near HANNIBAL, MO., Friday, Oct. 14, 1853.

A few lines will complete my report of the State Fair in Illinois, which I left last evening.



Grapes for wine ought to have made a fine show in a State which has climate and soil suited to their cultivation. A second Fair may remedy the default. The show of flowers was meager enough, being too late for the natural productions of the prairies, and many ladies would not trust the house plants to rude hands. I noticed a sun flower which was so large that it could not be set in a half bushel—certainly a monstrous production. Count Fairs at the East make a better exhibit of Household Manufactures than the State. The same is true of needle and fancy work. Ladies of leisure are not here. Domestic arts are scarce, and this black soil lays a contribution on the strength of every housekeeper that has an eye to neatness. In the Arts, notice teeth on platina plates, by Dr. Hale, of St. Louis; they are a new and perfect specimen.

Want of time deprived us of the pleasure of witnessing the plowing match, and listening to the address by Prof. Turner,<sup>7</sup> a gentleman of taste, and one of the most practical farmers in the West. His valuable buildings, just destroyed by fire, were well insured up to a day or two before fiendish malice deprived him of the fruits of years of toil and care.

It is a common opinion that Springfield is the place for a second Fair. Though thousands have slept on the floor, rode in freight cars, and are *minu* by thieves, coats and carpet bags, they will not care another season to be deprived of the pleasure and lessons of a second Fair in the great agricultural State of the North-West.

We passed for fifty miles through grand prairies north of Bloomington and were delighted with the miles of prairie fire which lighted up the heaven for a wide circuit. This is the season of burning hay and grain stacks, and many farmers are now plowing around their fields. I am quite sure that the corn crop in this State is over estimated at the East. For many weeks there has been an extensive drouth through the State. So general is it that river navigation is most uncertain, not to say perilous. I had left the steamer *R. H. Lee* but a few hours when she sank on the rapids above Rock Island. We have just passed the steamer *Golen* [*sic*] *Era*, sunk by a snag. Below yesterday, at St. Louis, *three* steamboats were burned, the names of which enter this you have by telegraph.

The Western people are now in the midst of a railroad mania. The name eight points on the Mississippi certain to be reached by a road direct east. The sooner the better many of these bubbles burst. A few roads more will be constructed, and prove the best in the country. Iowa and Northern Missouri are sure each to have a road, and Wisconsin may, during the next five years, secure the Minnesota trade by a road to La Crosse.

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Baldwin Turner.

Common sense shows that those distant from the iron rail should turn attention to sheep and cattle, and leave the grain-raising to farmers nearer market.

As I leave to pass over into Missouri, I can commend this steamer and its officers to the public. There is little to offend, and much that is praiseworthy.

J. B. G.

### "THIS WESTERN PARADISE"

*The following description of Illinois was submitted by Eugene B. Vest, Dixon. It is taken from Francis Parkman's The Conspiracy of Pontiac . . . (Boston, 1888), II: 247-49.*

This prolific land [the Illinois country] teemed with life. It was a hunter's paradise. Deer grazed on its meadows. The elk trooped in herds, like squadrons of cavalry. In the still morning, one might hear the clatter of their antlers for half a mile over the dewy prairie. Countless bison roamed the plains, filing in grave procession to drink at the rivers, plunging and portaging among the rapids and quicksands, rolling their huge bulk on the grass, rushing upon each other in hot encounter, like champions under shield. The wild cat glared from the thicket; the raccoon thrust his furry countenance from the hollow tree, and the opossum swung, head downwards, from the overhanging bough.

With the opening spring, when the forests are budding into leaf, and the prairies gemmed with flowers; when a warm, faint haze rests upon the landscape, then heart and senses are enthralled with luxurious beauty. The shrubs and wild fruit-trees, flushed with pale red blossoms, and the small clustering flowers of grape-vines, which choke the gigantic trees with Laocoön thistlings, fill the forest with their rich perfume. A few days later, and a cloud of verdure overshadows the land, while birds innumerable sing beneath its canopy, and brighten its shades with their glancing hues.

Yet this western paradise is not free from the primal curse. The beneficent sun, which kindles into life so many forms of loveliness and beauty, lends not to engender venom and death from the rank slime of pestilential swamp and marsh. In some stagnant pool, buried in the jungle-like depths of the forest, where the hot and lifeless water reeks with exhalations, the water-snake basks by the margin, or winds his checkered length of loathsome beauty across the sleepy surface. From beneath the rotten carcass of some fallen tree, the moccasin [*sic*] thrusts out his broad, flat head, ready to dart at the intruder. On the dry, sun-scorched prairie, the rattlesnake, a more gener-

ous enemy, reposes in his spiral coil. He scorns to shun the eye of day, as conscious of the honor accorded to his name by the warlike race, who, joint with him, claim lordship over the land. But some intrusive footstep awakes him from his slumbers. His neck is arched; the white fangs gleam in his distended jaws; his small eyes dart rays of unutterable fierceness; and his rattle invisible with their quick vibration, ring the sharp warning which no man would rashly contemn.



#### ANSWERS TO SILHOUETTE QUIZ (ON PAGE 58)

1. Stephen A. Douglas monument, Chicago. 2. First State Capitol, Kaskaskia. 3. Water Tower, Chicago. 4. State Capitol, Springfield. 5. Lincoln Tomb, Springfield. 6. General U. S. Grant's Home, Galena. 7. Black Hawk Statue, near Oregon. 8. Old Courthouse, Cahokia. 9. George Rogers Clark statue, Fort Massac State Park, near Metropolis. 10. Adler Planetarium, Chicago.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Land Lies Open.* By Theodore C. Blegen. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1949. Pp. 246. \$3.00.)

In its two parts—"Channels to the Land" and "People on the Land"—this book brings to light unknown facets of the period of exploration of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the later era of settlement. The reader who is acquainted with Dean Blegen's *Grass Roots History* will appreciate his concern for the human side of history; *The Land Lies Open* exemplifies that interest. We learn much of the human side of De Soto, Radisson, Nicolllet—"Civilization met the stone age with a flash of gunpowder"—DuLhut, and others better known. In the portrayal of difficulties with the Indians, the first building of forts that became the nuclei of cities, the larger British-French conflict for possession of this spacious and profitable area, are found the seeds of a dozen romantic novels.

Some of these explorers were not above playing on the credulity of the Indians—as when Nicolas Perrot told the Sioux that they must return the goods they had stolen and that if they did not "he would burn up their lakes and marshes." He poured some brandy into a cup of water and set fire to it. The scared Indians returned the stolen goods. The lives of these early explorers were always in danger, and sometimes they were saved purely for economic reasons,—as, for instance, Father Hennepin's life when the Indians knew that his death "would put a stop to the coming of other Frenchmen who brought obacco, blankets, knives and other trading goods."

"People on the Land" comprises eight sections of fascinating information of life in pioneer days, of courageous people who struggled to make a world better and finer for their children. But what conditions these "pioneers of the second line" had to meet! An English settler in Minnesota wrote in



the 1860's that a man "buys a farm very much in the sense that a sculptor buys a statue when he purchases a block of marble—the raw material is there, the manufactured article will appear only after much toil, trouble, expense, and anxiety." They had to achieve a working civilization, and they did. They themselves produced the homespun variety of scientific agriculture in the 19th century: diversification of crops. What James Norris did for wheat, Oren Gregg did for dairy products, Peter M. Gideon for apples, Wendelin Grimm for alfalfa. George W. Kelley, an agriculture educator, said, "Perhaps someday our historians will tell more of the work of such men and glorify the authors of death and devastation." These "pioneers of the second line" now have a worthy historian.

It is a temptation to quote liberally from *The Land Lies Open*, a temptation that must be resisted. Yet, the fascinating chapter on "A State University Is Born," should prove that the first president of the University of Minnesota, William Watts Folwell, was an educational statesman of the highest order. The university was established in 1851, but didn't get started until 1869. At that time, Folwell pointed out that science "is the informing spirit which gives life to the limbs and elements of the University." Folwell had gone through the Civil War, and he stressed the point that Americans were "mere empirics and journeymen at handling the terrible social problems which the war, the migration of races, and the sudden growth of great cities were thrusting upon them. . . . We need," he said, "to put a solid basis of science not only under the technical arts and learned professions, but under commerce, government, and social relations." This book of the past is full of the future.

*University of Hawaii.*

GREGG M. SINCLAIR.

*Gold Rush Album.* Edited by Joseph Henry Jackson. (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1949. Pp. 239. \$10.)

MRS.

MILDRED

MOSS, wife

of D.H.T.

MOSS

Late of Galena,

Ill. Aged

25 Years

Many a rude gravestone, such as this one, marked the trails west. Settling out for the land of gold was one thing. Reaching it was another. The dust driven by "the everlasting wind of the plains," cut into weathered faces. Wagons capsized in swollen rivers and creeks. Provisions were swept away.

men and women and children from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, from just about everywhere, struggled and fought their way through the hazards and hardships. In time it was almost possible to follow the way from one tombstone, one that put beside the young wife from Galena, to the next grim marker.

This book of several hundred old pictures—engravings, woodcuts, lithographs, sketches—is a rich centennial observance of the Gold Rush and its place in history. Joseph Henry Jackson, literary editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, has put together a volume that will delight all who have an interest in the America of a century ago. The illustrations are taken from a wide range of sources, all of which are identified.

Collinsville.

IRVING DILLIARD.

*Managers in Distress: The St. Louis Stage, 1840-1844.* By William G. B. Carson. (St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation: St. Louis, 1949. Pp. XI, 329. \$6.00.)

In 1932 Professor Carson published a well received volume entitled *The Theatre on the Frontier*, which traced the history of the St. Louis stage from its beginnings through the year 1839. The present volume, covering a five-year period, brings the account down through 1844. Organized chronologically into nine chapters, with an epilogue and appendix, the book describes the theatrical seasons in detail. The plays and players, as well as the various traveling companies appearing in St. Louis, at that time the theatrical capital of the Upper Mississippi Valley, are fully discussed. Considerable attention is devoted to the quarrels and difficulties of the actor-managers, Solomon F. Smith and Noah M. Ludlow, who were active in the South and West for many years. Attention is given to the men and women on both sides of the footlights and the narrative includes a considerable amount of interpretation of the western theater and its relationship to other areas of the country.

The epilogue presents an analysis and appraisal of the writer's findings which sum up the characteristics of the early western theater in an able and interesting manner. The frontier craved entertainment and the account of those who furnished it constitutes a lively story. The amount and variety of theatrical activity in this river town is impressive, with programs ranging from the plays of Shakespeare to the crudest of farces and afterpieces. It was a period of hard times and every possible device was used to attract audiences. The star system prevailed, with the better known players often carrying away a large portion of the nightly receipts. Frequent changes in plays left little time for rehearsals, resulting repeatedly in poorly learned lines. The appendix lists the individual plays presented during the period and a financial

record of the monetary returns during the spring and fall seasons of 1844

Based on contemporary newspapers, diaries, letters, and account books as well as other manuscript materials in the Missouri Historical Society and Harvard College libraries, the volume is well written and documented. It is the work of a careful scholar and constitutes a valuable contribution in a field that until recent years has been neglected. The book is attractively printed and bound with fifteen well chosen illustrations. There is an index.

*Southern Illinois University.*

HAROLD E. BRIGGS.

*History of the Development of Building Construction in Chicago.* By Frank A. Randall. (The University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1949. Pp. 388. \$5.00.)

Frank A. Randall, a contemporary engineer and a special lecturer at the University of Illinois, has found cause to record certain data that he has come upon in his practice as an engineer in Chicago, and to extend his studies into this interesting history of Chicago building.

The work is actually an encyclopedic record of the buildings which have been built in the downtown, usually known as the Loop, district of Chicago from 1830 (preceding by seven years the incorporation of the city in 1837) to 1948. This constitutes more than two-thirds of the book. Prefacing this record there are about thirty pages of historical narration setting forth briefly the building problems peculiar to the city's location and various methods of solution. And, not least, the author includes biographical recognition of the glamorous array of architects and builders who have constructed the present metropolis on the shores of Lake Michigan. Postlude to the encyclopedic record there are some eighty pages of indexes and cross indexes which should make this book of considerable value to the research worker.

Mr. Randall's choice of epochs in presenting his subject shows an interesting individualistic selectivity: (I) Before the Fire. (II) Recovery from the Fire. (III) The Golden Age, or the Columbian Exposition Age—up to the Twentieth Century. (IV) The period through World War I and (V) The period through World War II.

The author has created a valuable chronological record of events and people often overlooked in the ordinary progress of history. He has, so to speak, told of the progress (or the evolution) of building, of materials, of methods, and of men without any attempt at interpretive history.

*Springfield.*

MURRAY S. HANES.

*Living with Lincoln and Other Essays.* By J. G. Randall. (Privately Printed. Decatur, Ill., 1949. Pp. 34.)

This little book is a reprinting of four articles, three of which appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*. The fourth is from the October, 1947,

*Lincoln Herald*. All have been inspired by a study of the Robert Todd Lincoln papers which were opened in the Library of Congress on July 26, 1947.

A group of forty-one of Professor Randall's former students selected these articles for republication "because to us they seemed to represent the best qualities of a great teacher—impeccable scholarship, felicity of style, and meliness of subject."

The first of the four articles, "Living with Lincoln," summarizes the Lincoln papers by sampling them. The author shows plainly how this vast collection of correspondence confirms many historical suspicions, seasons other accepted incidents, and occasionally adds new and startling elements to certain furtive and little known aspects of Lincoln's career—"Beast" Butler's fort to be elected President in Lincoln's place, for instance.

The second article deals with "Lincoln's craftsmanship in the art of human relations," and in it the author prints an unfinished note reprimanding Captain James M. Cutts—a document that Nicolay and Hay omitted from Lincoln's *Complete Works*.

The third article analyzes Lincoln's first and second inaugural addresses and from these inspiring words Professor Randall synthesizes the Civil War President's declaration of faith. The excellent little volume closes with an account of the origin of Thanksgiving Day as a national holiday emphasizing some new letters in the Lincoln papers from Sarah Josepha Hale, literary editor of the last century who is remembered for Thanksgiving Day and for the poem, "Mary Had a Little Lamb."

J. M.

*Comes an Echo on the Breeze*. By Edward J. Ryan. (The Exposition Press: New York, 1949. Pp. 202. \$3.00.)

Here is Illinois in the summer of 1832. The story is a fictionized version of Abraham Lincoln's experiences in the Black Hawk War—his only military service. And the story within the story is the romance between Jefferson Davis, then a lieutenant in the U. S. Army, and the daughter of Colonel Zachary Taylor, his commander; Lincoln and Davis become friends and Lincoln takes the part of Dan Cupid's messenger. Then there is the romance of Lincoln and Ann Rutledge, which, however, is not given an undue amount of space. In these matters the author embroidered history more than little, but the most interesting parts of his book are his portrayal of Lincoln and the reactions of the settlers and the Indians to the war. On these points and the facts of the war itself he keeps pretty close to history. He is a native of the Rock River section and has a feeling for this Black Hawk country that could be difficult, if not impossible, for an outsider to acquire.

H. F. R.



*Side Roads: Excursions into Wisconsin's Past.* By Fred L. Holmes. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1949. Pp. 123. \$2.75.)

*Side Roads* might have been called *The Past Recaptured* had not that title already been used. But Fred Holmes has done more than recapture the past—he has made it alive. This book is an enjoyable evening's reading, and you will want to go back to it again and again. Old-timers and not-so-old-timers alike will relish these *Excursions into Wisconsin's Past*.

A long review should be written of this little volume, but space forbids. The only solution we can offer is for you to get the book and read it. These *Side Roads* lead where no side roads can take you today. Like Mark Twain in *Life on the Mississippi*, Fred L. Holmes has depicted for all to read and a few to remember an era that has gone forever. It is first-rate Americana.

The preface by Clifford L. Lord informs us that the book is published posthumously. Fred Holmes will write no more, but what he has done for his native state will live. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is to be complimented for such an attractive volume—jacket, binding, paper, and printing all combine to make *Side Roads* a pleasurable reading experience. The book is profusely illustrated with delightful and appropriate drawings by Dorthy E. Meeker, and there is a good index.

S. A. W.

*The Chatsworth Wreck. A Saga of Excursion Train Travel in the American Midwest in the 1880s.* By Cary Clive Burford. (The Blade Publishing Co.: Fairbury, Ill., 1949. Pp. 84.)

This is the story of a horrible tragedy at Chatsworth, Illinois, on the night of August 10-11, 1887. At about midnight the heavily loaded Niagara Falls excursion train of the Toledo, Peoria & Western road was wrecked just east of Chatsworth. A burning bridge collapsed, and the wooden coaches piled up in twisted confusion. Eighty-one were killed and 372 injured.

That story is the theme of this booklet, but the author has added much information about the T. P. & W. Railroad, the Illinois communities it served, and a chapter on the old-time excursion trains. He has also included a vivid account of a somewhat similar wreck at Ashtabula, Ohio, in December, 1876.

There is also a chapter on major train wrecks which shows that the year 1907 was a tragic one for the railroads. None of these wrecks occurred in Illinois, but not far from the state line, at Fowler, Indiana, the "Queen City Flyer" crashed into a heavy freight on January 19. This accident claimed twenty-nine lives and provided the *Chicago Tribune* with a picture and feature story for January 20.

Old-timers who remember the days of the excursion train will certainly want to read this little booklet. It contains many illustrations, some of which unfortunately, have not printed very clearly.

S. A. W.



## NEWS AND COMMENT

### WINDS AND FASHIONS OF YESTERYEAR

Can you name the decade by the fashions in the drawing on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal*? Was it 1900 to 1910, or 1850 to 1860, or were those hats worn in the Gay Nineties? If your guess is 1870 to 1880 it is right because this picture was reproduced from a magazine published in 1876.



### NEW AND COLORFUL QUARTERLY

Anyone who doubts the fascination of history should be introduced to *American Heritage*, a quarterly published by the American Association for State & Local History at Montpelier, Vermont. This new and colorful journal is handsomely printed and richly illustrated.

The heritage of America is an inspiring and beautiful story, and the telling deserves a publication worthy of our country's dramatic past. It now seems to have found a suitable medium. This quarterly should be in every library in the land and available to every student and teacher of history. *American Heritage* will never have to be made "required reading" if subsequent issues continue the pattern already set.

The price is only \$3.00 a year; those who wish to receive the magazine should send their subscriptions to Mr. Earle Newton, State House, Montpelier, Vermont.

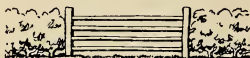
Chicago's last veteran of the Civil War, Captain Thomas Ambrose, died on November 9, 1949. He was born on May 5, 1849 and joined the Army at sixteen. Captain Ambrose's death left only one Civil War veteran in Illinois, Lewis Fablinger, of Downers Grove.



The Highland Park Public Library has dedicated a room to the preservation of the records of Highland Park and Lake County. Behind paneled walls are fireproof cabinets for valuable books, papers, and pictures. A memorial plaque in this room is inscribed to the memory of Jesse L. Smith, who for thirty-three years was principal of the Elm Place School in Highland Park and who organized the city's first historical society. Mr. Smith died on April 21, 1934.



The Illinois State Historical Library wishes to thank Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Knapp for their gift of Eastern newspapers for the 1860's and for old copies of *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, *McClure's Magazine*, and *Littell's Living Age*.



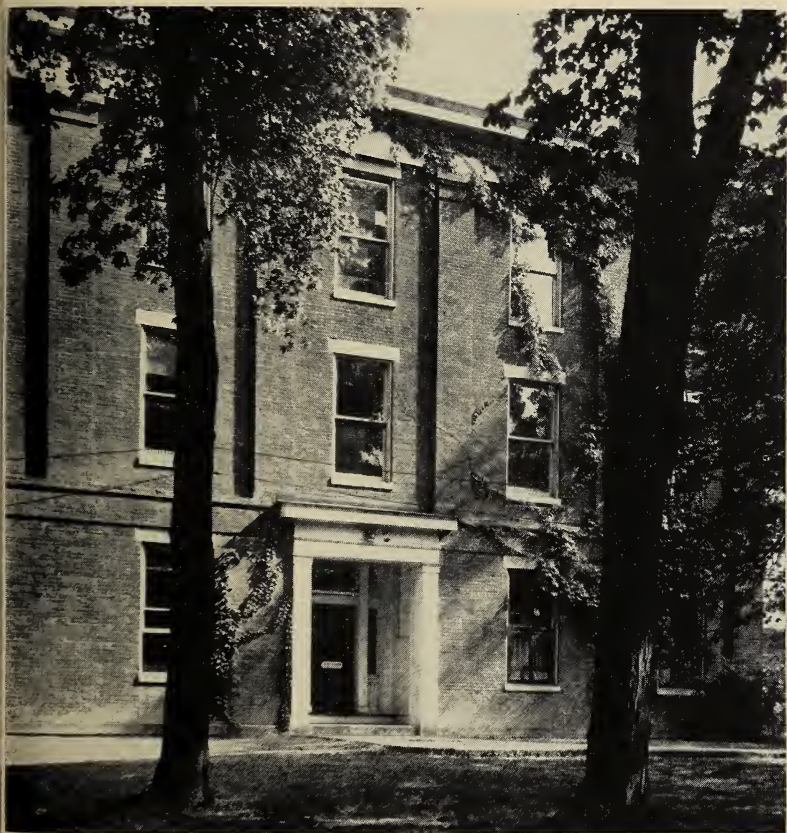
### "OLD MAIN'S" CENTENNIAL

McKendree College's "Old Main" will pass the century mark this June. Oldest building on the college campus, its cornerstone, so the records state, was laid on commencement day, 1850.

But McKendree College, even then, was an old school. It was founded in 1828, and by 1849 the college needed a new building. A committee of five (President Erastus Wentworth, Benjamin Hypes, D. Goheen, A. W. Cummings, and the Rev. William Rutledge) was appointed to "take into consideration the propriety of calling public attention to the present condition of McKendree college with a view of raising the sum of \$10,000 to put up a substantial edifice."

The exterior of this "substantial edifice" remains the same today as when it was finished in 1850. On the interior, however, two rooms have been partitioned to increase office space. Steam heat was installed after the turn of





"OLD MAIN" AT MCKENDREE COLLEGE

the century, and in 1947 water was first brought into the building for a drinking fountain in the first floor hallway. The fourth generation of students now throngs through "Old Main's" attractive doorway.

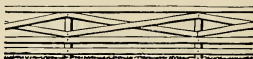


Franklin W. Scott, a member of the Illinois State Historical Society since 1908, died in Urbana, Illinois, on January 10, 1950, at the age of seventy-two. A distinguished member of the faculty of the University of Illinois from 1901 to 1925 (in charge of Journalism courses and head of the English Department), he was editor-in-chief with D. C. Heath & Co., in

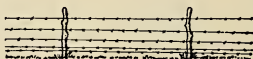


Boston, Massachusetts, from 1925 to 1946. Dr. Scott retired in 1946 and returned to Urbana to live.

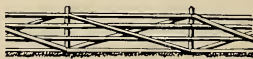
In 1910 the Illinois State Historical Library published his *Newspaper and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*, volume six of the Library's *Collections*. For forty years this has remained an invaluable reference book on journalism in Illinois.



Death claimed another member of the Illinois State Historical Society on December 14, 1949, when Rufus Rockwell Wilson passed away in his eighty-fifth year. Mr. Wilson had been a member since 1938. More than half a century ago William Herndon kindled in young Mr. Wilson, then a newspaper reporter, an interest in the Civil War President. For the rest of his life Rufus Rockwell Wilson pursued the Lincoln theme. *Lincoln in Caricature*, *Lincoln in Portraiture*, and *Lincoln Among His Friends* are but a few of a long list of books which he wrote or edited.

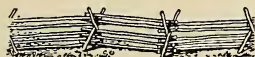


At the January meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society Julius Marti recounted the origin and development of the public schools in Alton. Mrs. Anna Kranz told the history of the schools of Upper Alton before their merger with the Alton system. Dana Eastman, Jr., a student at Alton's Roosevelt Junior High School, read his paper on the "Piasa Bird" which was published in the November, 1949, issue of the *Illinois Junior Historian*. J. B. Johnson then explained the function of this publication. Mrs. Harry L. Meyer spoke briefly on early schoolbooks, and monthly reports were presented by Mrs. Helen Rohde, secretary, and Frank Sargent, treasurer. Mrs. Frank J. Stobbs is president of the group.



Members of the Augustana Historical Society made a pilgrimage to Andover, Illinois, on November 30. Dinner was served in the Jenny Lind Chapel prior to the annual meeting of the Society. Dr. Everett Arden reviewed a new book by Samuel Ronnegard about the Rev. L. P. Esbjorn who came to Andover one hundred years ago.

The board of directors of the Aurora Historical Society includes: A. J. Meiers, president; Jack Holslag, Hugh Parker, T. J. Merrill, Mrs. Frank Chark, L. T. Fowler, Mrs. Harold Atwood, Frank Weisergerber, Ruth E. Bradshaw, Clarence R. Smith, Eleanor Plain, Mrs. Harold Hamper, Mrs. Ward Downs, Mrs. Arthur Muschler, Vernon Derry, Lorin S. Hill, Dorothy A. Simpson, R. E. Brown, E. S. Fowler, William F. Fowler, C. W. Hoefer, Walter Hitzner, Esther Levedahl, J. J. Lies, L. R. Mead, I. V. Midkiff, Mrs. A. T. Oleson, Paul Ochsenschlager, J. G. Plain, Mrs. Walter Sperry, R. N. Stolp, William Schmitt, Newell Tanner, and Mrs. Alice Applegate and Bess Lockhart of the Society's museum staff.



Two unusual exhibits have been held recently at the Chicago Historical Society. One, especially appropriate for the holiday season, was "Toys of Yesteryear." The toys shown had been made in the period from 1873 to 1910 and were lent to the Society by Frank Harding, of Chicago. The other, "Early American Automobiles," consisted of photographs of cars dating back to the 1890's. These were taken by Albert Mecham, of Chicago, and Thomas M. Galey, of Owensboro, Kentucky.



A unique study group, the Dixon and Lee County Junior Historical Society has been organized in Dixon's North Central School. These "junior historians" and their sponsors, Mrs. Eva Weinreich and Mrs. Margaret Swim, study the history of and collect information on Dixon and the surrounding territory. At their December meeting pictures were shown of Dixon in the 1860's.



A new publication has come to our attention, the *DuPage Historical Review*. Volume I, number 1 of this little magazine (eight pages mimeographed) is dated January-February, 1950. The *Review* will appear bi-monthly, and the subscription rate is only \$1.00 a year. The publisher and editor is Frank F. Scobey. Subscription remittances should be sent to the *DuPage Historical Review*, P. O. Box 505, Glen Ellyn, Illinois.

E. L. Dukes gave a talk before the Edwards County Historical Society in December. His topic was "Early Lighting Systems in Albion." Homemade candles and old-fashioned lamps and lanterns were used to illustrate the discussion. "Memoirs of the Battle of Gettysburg as Recorded by W. F. Strawn, a Participant," was the subject of the January meeting.

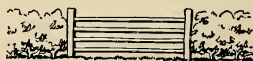
The historic George French house in Albion has been razed. This ancient dwelling, built in 1841, is described in John Drury's book, *Old Illinois Houses*.



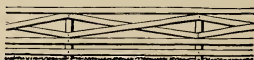
The Evanston Historical Society inaugurated the beginning of its second half century with a lecture on December 1, 1949, by Eleanor Perkins. Miss Perkins discussed her family in its relation to Evanston and the literary highlights of the times. Her father, Dwight Heald Perkins, was a leader in creating the Cook County forest preserve system, and her mother, Lucy Fitch Perkins, was an author.



The Glencoe Historical Society met at the home of Mrs. James K. Cahoun in November. The subject of the meeting was the very early development of Glencoe.



Harry Hough, president of the Grundy County Historical Society announced in December that the County Board of Supervisors had made space available in the basement of the courthouse for the Society to display objects of historical interest. Persons having articles suitable for display may be assured that the greatest care will be given to them, whether they are lent or donated to the Society.

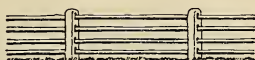


N. W. Draper presented a paper on "The Mount Vernon Supreme and Appellate Courts and their Relation to the Government of the State" at the December meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society. Mrs. Howard Casey, president of the group, presided.

The Kankakee County Historical Society heard Mrs. Maurine Hertz Downie at the Society's annual fall meeting. Mrs. Downie, wife of Dr. Gerald Downie, a missionary to China, told of conditions and recent developments there. She exhibited many beautiful articles brought back from the Orient. Ralph Francis is president of the Society.



The annual meeting of the Lake County Historical Society was held on November 15, in Lois Durand Hall on the Lake Forest College campus. Richard W. Hantke presented a paper on the development of northern Illinois.



Plans are progressing for a Logan County Historical Society, and by the time this is in print the organization may already be in the "active" status. D. F. Nickols and E. H. Lukenbill have been especially industrious in promoting the organization.



The autobiography of Dr. Silas T. Trowbridge was the subject of Mrs. W. W. Doane's discussion at the December meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in Decatur. Dr. Trowbridge, a Decatur physician, served under Richard J. Oglesby as surgeon in the Eighth Illinois Infantry Regiment during the Civil War. His autobiography ran serially in the *Decatur Sunday Review* in 1911.



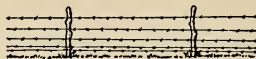
Donald F. Lewis, president of the Madison County Historical Society, has been named a member of the Mississippi Scenic Highway Commission.



The Mattoon Historical Society opened its 1950 season in January with a talk by W. R. Scott on the history of the oil industry, especially in the Mattoon area. Dr. Horace Batchelor, president of the Society, appointed the



following to the editorial and membership committees: Alex Summers, Mrs. Charles Stinson, Mrs. William H. Roney, Mrs. Virgil Dodson, Clarence W. Bell, and Mrs. C. N. Owings.



Dr. Arthur F. Ewert spoke before the Morgan County Historical Society in Jacksonville, November 29, 1949, on "Ministers of Jacksonville." Dr. Ewert stressed particularly the hardships endured by the pioneer preachers and their cultural contributions to the city.

In January Dr. John S. Wright spoke on "Portuguese Progress." The first Portuguese colonists arrived in Jacksonville in 1849.



Marvin Hult addressed the November meeting of the Peoria Historical Society on the topic, "Let's Take a Look at Radio." Mr. Hult is assistant program director for WMBD in Peoria.



James Carrott, president of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, has announced that the articles removed from the cornerstone of the old Adams County courthouse will be placed in the Historical Society's museum for display.

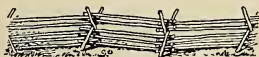
Miss Ann Hinrichsen, of Springfield, has given the Society a small writing desk that formerly belonged to James W. Singleton, a prominent resident of Quincy during the Civil War period.



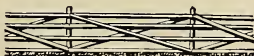
Officers of the Saline County Historical Society are: Ernest V. Gates, president; W. H. Farley, vice-president; Mary Lindsay, second vice-president; and James Bond, secretary. The board of directors includes: Alvina Shestak, R. C. Davenport, J. Ward Barnes, Mrs. H. C. Holdoway, and Fred Wasson.

At the January meeting Mrs. Talitha Aaron presented a paper on "Egypt." She pointed out the many resemblances of the two Egypts. Mrs. Aaron also read the transcription of an interview given by John Nameth, of Eldorado, who recently visited his native Hungary.

Miss Hazel Snyder was the principal speaker at the Stephenson County Historical Society in December. She talked about the Hummel figurines, made in Germany by a nun, Berta Hummel. Miss Snyder exhibited some of her own original "Hummels" and also some colored prints and photographs of the figurines.



At a meeting in Danville in November the reorganized Vermilion County Historical Society created an executive committee and a speakers' bureau. The latter is to co-operate with the county in helping to present the story of local history. The group met at the historic home of Joseph H. Barnhart, the society's president. This house, described in John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses*, was built in the 1830's.



Charles A. Read, Sr. and J. C. Lappin hope to organize the Wayne County Historical Society. If enough people with similar interests will express themselves an organizational meeting will be called.



White County residents are also considering the formation of a county historical society. Miss Etta Brandt and Bob Hughes seem to be the moving spirits in this area.

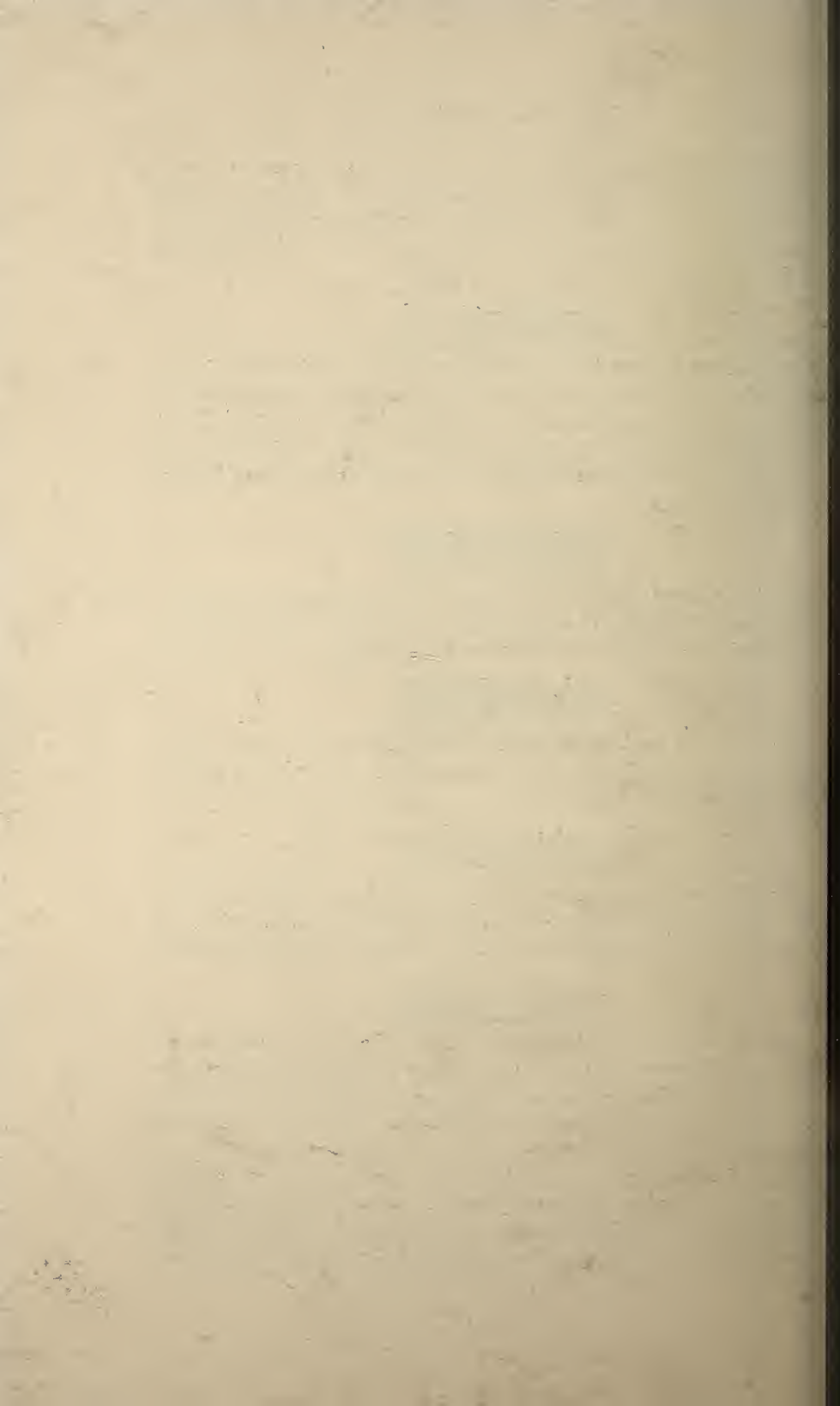


The Winnetka Historical Society dedicated its fourth historical marker on November 13, 1949, a bronze plaque at the Michael Schmidt cabin, the oldest house in Winnetka, built about 1820 and located at 1407 Tower Road.



Many local museums and historical societies have in their possession an old hand printing press, used by an early printer in the state or county, and one which may have been printed the first newspaper in the vicinity. Usually such presses do not bear a name plate or carry the name of the maker and place or date of origin.

Ralph Green writes that as a hobby he has spent many years gathering information about and inspecting old presses. If information is desired about our printing press write Ralph Green, 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, and give a brief description of the press. If possible send a picture.





*Journal  
of the*  
ILLINOIS STATE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SHADY NOOK ABOVE A BABBLING BROOK

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

SUMMER 1950



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J. MONAGHAN, *Editor*

S. A. WETHERBEE and HOWARD F. RISSLER, *Associate Editors*

The Illinois State Historical Society is a department of the State Historical Library. The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, disseminate the story of the state and its citizens, and encourage historical research. An annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society tours some historic neighborhood. Membership is open to all. Dues are \$2.00 a year, or \$50 for Life Membership.

Members receive the publications of the Library, which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. These publications are the *Journal*, a quarterly magazine devoted to Illinois history, and occasional books and pamphlets on historical subjects.

Manuscripts submitted for publication should be addressed to J. Monaghan, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois.

The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by authors of articles published.

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# ADDENDA TO LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION

BY OTTO EISENSCHIML

## I.

SINCE the publication of my book *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?*<sup>1</sup> thirteen years have passed, but, so far as I know, little if any progress has been made toward either confirming or refuting the thesis I submitted. I presented certain facts, heretofore overlooked, which seemed to throw unfavorable light on Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and the Northern Radicals, and I recommended further investigation. So far as I know, no such investigation was undertaken. The professional critics were considerably disturbed, but what they had to say shed no light on the problem.<sup>2</sup> Such additional data as I accumulated I put into two subsequent books, *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*<sup>3</sup> and *The Case of A. L. . . . ., Aged 56*.<sup>4</sup> Since then only stray bits of information have come my way; nevertheless, I would like to record them, even though they tend to deepen the mystery, rather than dispel it.

<sup>1</sup> Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> See "Reviewers Reviewed," The Wm. L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Wilfred Funk, Inc., New York, 1940.

<sup>4</sup> Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, Chicago, 1943.

*Otto Eisenschiml has long been interested in the men and motives involved in Lincoln's assassination and has probably done more research and written more on the subject than any other author. A chemist by profession and a well-known writer, this Chicagoan is the author of works on various phases of the Civil War and on scientific and literary subjects.*



The item I am going to discuss in this article is the May 2 1868, issue of *The People's Weekly*, a now rare magazine, published in Washington and Baltimore on Saturday evenings. According to the subhead, it was "devoted to Current News Local Intelligence, Commercial Matters, Literature, Art, Mechanical Interests, Amusements, etc." The publishers were listed as Ben E. Green, who also signed as editor, N. B. Talbott, and A. J. Appleby. Among prospective contributors were named General Duff Green, the Rev. C. K. Marshall, Bill Arp and "many other able writers." Its address was 44 and 125 North Baltimore Street. Aside from Bill Arp, who was a popular humorist, these names carry no meaning to me. They probably were ex-Confederates or Confederate sympathizers.

Early in 1948, by a fortuitous circumstance, this copy of the magazine fell into the hands of a Baltimore Lincoln student Jesse E. Wilson, through whose generosity I gained its possession. It had been found in a room of an old building at 1622 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, in back of a mirror which had fallen apart. Behind the mirror gaped a hollow space, and in it reposed a pocket-handly gun lying on the magazine, yellowed with age and partly torn, but otherwise in fair condition.<sup>5</sup> It would be tempting, but idle, to speculate whether the layers of paper were intended to protect the pistol, or whether the pistol was to weight down the magazine.

The editor of *The People's Weekly*, Ben E. Green, was Kentucky-born and, like his father, Duff Green, was a journalist, politician, and promoter. During the Civil War he had managed an iron mill in Tennessee for the Confederate government. In the three subsequent years he had tried to raise funds for the rebuilding of the South, and in 1868 he took over *The People's Weekly*, then in its fifth year. The May 2 issue was the first published under his management, and Green proclaimed his policy on the front page in a poignant article entitled

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<sup>5</sup> A short article on this appeared in a column conducted by Carroll Dulaney in the *Baltimore American* of June 13, 1948.

"Prospectus." His convictions are epitomized in one sentence: "Politically, we labor to arouse the people to co-operate in the spirit of Washington's Farewell Address, [which was quoted in part] for an immediate restoration of the Union, and a fraternal settlement of all our difficulties."

Green's promotional talents went into action at once, for he announced ambitiously that he was about to leave town for the purpose of distributing 500,000 sample copies of the *Weekly* "on railroad cars and in different centres of trade." If he really distributed such a number, it is surprising that so few seem to have survived, my copy being one of them.

Father Green also took a hand in the new venture, for the "Prospectus" held out hope that "General Duff Green has long contemplated the publication of his reminiscences, with anecdotes and secret history of political men and movements of the last fifty years, and will give them . . . through the columns of *The People's Weekly*." (The beginning of these reminiscences appears on another page, but is of little interest.)

To make good on the literary promises, the third page brought "Punishing a Shark," followed by several short items such as "Webster as a Haymaker" (in the literal, not prize-ring sense), "Onions in Croup," "Good for One Pound," and other articles of similar type. An advertisement for *The Celebrated Rosadalis*, "a certain cure for rheumatism, mercurial diseases, imprudence of life," and many other ailments, at \$1.50 a bottle, took up the remaining two columns.

A later page dealt with "Washington Affairs," "Baltimore Affairs," "News Items," and "Labor Items." It will evoke no astonishment that in the Washington column B. F. S. Butler was referred to as "Beast, Forks and Spoons." Financial news, advertisements, and baseball intelligence filled the rest of the magazine. Modern baseball fans may rejoice that the "Union of Morrisiana" won the 1867 championship of America, but the Maryland Pastime and Entertainment Club, the Atlantics of Brooklyn, the Mutuels of New York, the Irvingtons of Irv-

ington, the Atlantics and Keystones of Philadelphia, and the National Union and Olympics of Washington were out to win the coveted prize in 1868.

The outstanding piece of interest in the paper, however was an editorial herewith reprinted in full:

#### THAT WICKED OLD MAN,

THAD STEVENS, calls President Johnson the "*offspring of assassination.*" What about the rest of the pedigree? Who were the parents and grandparents of assassination?

Mr. Seward gave a friend of his a pleasant trip through Europe at the expense of the tax-paying people, under pretence of tracing this pedigree and Stanton succeeded in getting President Johnson to offer a reward of \$100,000 for the arrest of men who had no more to do with the assassination than the man in the moon;—not as much, if the common idea of the influence of the moon on lunatics has any foundation in fact.

In the summer of 1865 we were in Washington city, but too much occupied with our own private affairs to give much attention then to the proceedings of the mock tribunal, which hung Mrs. Surratt for supposed connection with the assassination.

A stenographic reporter, who professed to have examined all the testimony carefully, suggested to us a theory, which at the time we thought was a wild vagary. Subsequent developments and an examination of the testimony have, however, since convinced us that there was more in his ideas than we at first supposed. We are now thoroughly convinced that his suspicions were well founded; that

#### THE REAL INSTIGATORS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN

were Edwin M. Stanton, Joseph Holt and Lafayette C. Baker; and that Thad Stevens' wicked vindictiveness warmed into life the brutal instincts of Stanton, Holt and Baker, to have Lincoln assassinated; that they might have freer scope in hanging rebels and appropriating to themselves their property; to which they feared Lincoln's good nature and desire for conciliation would be an obstacle.

After the evacuation of Richmond, Mr. Lincoln went there. He talked freely to those whom he met, saying:

"That the South had made a great mistake in going off, and leaving him in the power of the abolitionists; that he had no desire to abolish slavery; that he was opposed to it, but did not wish to see it abolished suddenly, by a shock, but gradually, if that could be done; that he had signed the Emancipation Proclamation very unwillingly; but had been forced to it, and the South had themselves to blame for placing him in a position to be forced; that he could not recall his Emancipation Proclamation, but was willing to leave it

# The People's Weekly

DEVOTED TO ART, LITERATURE, MECHANICAL INTERESTS, AND GENERAL NEWS

VOL. IV—No. 15

WASHINGTON, D. C. AND BALTIMORE, MD. SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 2, 1868.

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the price of labor.

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Courtesy, Otto Eisenschimid

## THE PISTOL-WEIGHTED PAPER

Here is the heading and a clipping from the May 2, 1868, issue of  
"The People's Weekly" that was found in a hole in the wall of an old Baltimore  
building. The paper was weighted down by a pocket-handly gun of the  
Civil War period.



to the Supreme Court to decide whether it was constitutional and valid, or not."

Judge Campbell said to him:

"That point, Mr. President, I am perfectly willing to leave to the decision of your own Chief Justice Chase; for whatever he may do as a Politician, as a Judge he will be compelled to decide that you had no Constitutional authority to issue that proclamation."

Mr. Lincoln replied:

"We won't discuss that now. Sufficient that I am perfectly willing that the Supreme Court shall decide that it was unconstitutional, and null and void. Now the question is, whether you will come back into the Union and sustain me in putting down the fanatics and abolitionists. I don't want to take your slaves from you. If you want to keep them, come back at once into the Union, vote against the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, and sustain me in my efforts to rescue the government from the fanatics and abolitionists."

These consultations in Richmond led to the order given by Mr. Lincoln to Gen. Weitzell [Godfrey Weitzel] to call the Virginia Legislature together; and the object of the call was that they should vote against the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

On his return to Washington, Stanton, according to his own testimony, forced Lincoln to recall that order, and dictated the precise terms of that recall.

We have no time or space in this number to continue this subject; but our belief is, that Stanton, after forcing the well meaning, but too yielding Lincoln to recall that order to Gen. Weitzell, determined to get rid of him, as an obstacle to his game of rebel hanging and plundering; and that he accomplished his purpose through that infamous adjunct of the War Department the Bureau of Military Injustice.

We will explain the process in our next. If the theory of our stenographic friend be correct, then Thad Stevens, whose vindictive fury gave life to the embryo spirit of assassination in Stanton and Holt, and by the murder of Lincoln, made Johnson the "offspring of assassination," is now seeking to renew the old mythological fable, by "*devouring his own offspring*."

Our Washington editor says last week that Stanton has "*disclosed the secrets of his prisonhouse*," to an editor of the New York Tribune. If the secrets of his administration of the War Department and Holt's management of the Bureau of Military Injustice are ever truthfully disclosed, they will be enough to make one's hair stand on end.

The first question which comes to mind after reading this editorial concerns the identity of the stenographic reporter who first suspected that the real instigators of Lincoln's assassination were Stanton, Holt, and Baker. The official staff of court stenographers at the conspiracy trial consisted of five men,

headed by Benn Pitman, but other reporters also were present. Moreover, it is not claimed that this particular reporter took notes at the trial. The only stenographer known to have protested against the scenes he had witnessed was one of Pitman's assistants, Edward V. Murphy. In an interview published by the *New York Times Magazine* on April 9, 1916, he mercilessly castigated the court and the method used by the government prosecutors.<sup>6</sup> It would be hazardous to conclude from his interview, given many years after the event, that it was Murphy to whom the editorial referred. The identity of Green's informant therefore remains problematical.

The second question concerns the grounds on which Green's suspicion rested. A "careful examination of all the testimony" elicited at the conspiracy trial could hardly have been sufficient, for none of the printed versions point in any way to Stanton, Holt, or Baker. True, the marks of perjury appear on page after page, the prejudice of the court is obvious, and at times some of the government witnesses slipped so badly that Pitman, probably under duress, found it advisable to change the official record. But if the unknown reporter formulated a theory, he must have done so from other evidence. Green himself says he became convinced of Stanton's and his cohorts' guilt by the testimony "and subsequent developments." It seems that the latter are by far the more persuasive. But what particular developments did Green have in mind?

Since Stanton, Holt, Baker, and Stevens had thus been publicly accused of having instigated Lincoln's assassination, one might have expected them to lose no time in suing Green for slander. Nothing of the sort seems to have happened, however. Baker died on July 3, 1868, and Stevens shortly after (August 11, 1868). Stanton at the time the article appeared was bent on protecting his position against a Presidential dismissal, and Holt may have been unwilling to take the lead.

After Stanton had finally severed his connection with the

<sup>6</sup> Otto Eisenchimpl, *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death* (New York, 1940), 174-180.

War Department (May 26, 1868), he lived another year and a half, and Holt did not die until August 1, 1894. Apparently neither of them ever took legal action to defend his name. Whether they were motivated by prudence, or else considered it below their dignity to take official notice of an editorial written by an ex-Confederate, will probably never be known.

So far as he discloses his theory in the May 2 issue of his paper, Green thought that the removal of Lincoln made it possible for the conspirators to "hang rebels and appropriate to themselves their property." This opinion is not entirely justified, except so far as it concerns Lafayette Baker; Stanton and Holt might have delighted in hanging Confederates, but they were not mercenary. Thad Stevens' influence over the chief of the War Department also appears overrated. But whether lust for power or greed was the motive is not pertinent here.

What Green meant by his reference to a friend of Seward's who was sent to Europe to gather evidence regarding the conspiracy, I am unable to fathom.

It is a great disappointment, of course, that the editorial ends so abruptly. If Green regretted that he did not have "time or space to continue this subject" in the May 2 number, his regret does not measure up to the regrets of today's students. When he promised to "explain the process in our next," he makes one hope that he, a man close to the inside of things in Washington and not far removed in time from the assassination, would startle the public with facts not published before. The next issues of *The People's Weekly* should have been decidedly interesting. Naturally, I have made considerable effort to find them, and libraries as well as historical societies likely to possess them were thoroughly canvassed. The results were discouraging, for it appears that none of the connecting issues has been preserved. Aside from the copy now in my possession only two others have been located, both of them in the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore.<sup>7</sup> They are dated February 29

<sup>7</sup> Information furnished by A. B. Evans of the Library of Congress, Nov. 17, 1948.

and July 4, 1868, respectively. The first of these dates precedes the beginning of Ben Green's editorship, and is therefore out of bounds; the second, according to Elizabeth C. Litsinger, head of the Maryland department, who kindly examined it, contains no further reference to the matter under discussion.

And so this promising clue, which might have illuminated a dark corner of American history, has petered out. Where can we look for other leads?

In the opinion of this writer our best prospect lies, aside from such chance discoveries as the one which brought forth *The People's Weekly*, in possible letters or diaries of contemporary newspapermen, including Ben E. Green. The reporters of 1865 probably were as wide-awake as those of today, and events which occurred in their midst could not have escaped them, no matter how carefully they were screened. To have published suspicions or even facts in the hectic days when Stanton and Baker held the freedom and lives of every citizen in their despotic hands, would have ended in disaster for both the culprit and his paper. Even so, veiled hints did appear in a portion of the New York press, but were not followed up. It will also be noted that Green did not write his editorial prior to Stanton's eclipse. But those Washington correspondents who knew or suspected something they did not dare bring out into the open, probably wrote confidential letters to their editors, or made significant entries in their diaries, if they kept any.

To find such diaries may be expecting too much, but it might be possible to locate and search the files of contemporary editors to study their Washington correspondence. If these files still exist, they may yet form the source of interesting disclosures pertaining to Lincoln's death.



# FORT MASSAC DURING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

BY NORMAN W. CALDWELL

THE site of old Fort Massac is one of the most important of many historic spots in southern Illinois. Here the French established one of their main outposts in the upper Mississippi Valley during the French and Indian War; here, also, the Americans built a fort in the early national period for protection against hostile Indians and against the Spanish, who then occupied the west bank of the Mississippi. Although historians have in general been aware of the existence of the fort and have known something of its history, to date no one has attempted a special study of it. The present writer has undertaken such a study from the primary sources, hoping to set forth the results in two papers, the first of which deals with Fort Massac under the French regime. A later study will concern the post under American occupation.

No attempt will be made here to survey or to evaluate the literature which pertains to Fort Massac although there have

*Norman W. Caldwell is associate professor of history at Southern Illinois University and the author of The French in the Mississippi Valley, 1740-1750 (University of Illinois Press, 1941), and numerous articles on the French colonial and early national periods of American history. During World War II he served in the Historical Program of the Army Air Forces. Interest in military history led to the writing of "Cantonment Wilkinsonville" (Mid-America, January, 1949) which, in turn, prompted the present study of Fort Massac. The preparation of this paper was made possible, in part, by a research grant from Southern Illinois University.*

been many errors by writers who sought to explain the reasons for the establishment of the fort as well as to trace its history.<sup>1</sup> The idea of establishing a stronghold on the lower Ohio goes far back into the history of the French occupation of the Illinois country. Such a project was actually undertaken by Charles Juchereau de St. Denys in 1702, only to be abandoned shortly as a failure.<sup>2</sup> A generation later the idea was revived when some Shawnee Indians were located on the lower Ohio at the present site of Shawneetown.<sup>3</sup> In this case, also, no permanent establishment was made, since the Shawnee soon abandoned the site and returned to the upper Ohio country. Somewhat later French interest in the Ohio route as a means of communication between lower Canada and the western posts revived interest in the project. Authorization for construction of a fort at the falls of the Ohio was given as early as 1746, but nothing more was accomplished at that time.<sup>4</sup> In 1751 the Marquis de la Galissonnière pointed out the advantages to be expected from fortifying the Ohio, this being after the opening of the controversy between the English and the French over possession of that area.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the statement in O. J. Page, *History of Massac County, Illinois* (Metropolis, Ill., 1900), 25 to the effect that the fort was founded by the French in 1758 to receive the garrison being evacuated from Fort Duquesne. Fort Massac was actually built in 1757 and for entirely different reasons. See also Henry Brown, *The History of Illinois from its first Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time* (New York, 1844), 170-71. Brown not only thought the fort was founded long before it was, but stated that it was abandoned by the French "about 1750." Monette states that the post was founded in 1759 by troops descending from the evacuation of Fort Duquesne, and named for "the commander, M. Massac, who superintended its construction." John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi* (New York, 1846), I: 305, 317. Moses quotes Monette, but gives 1758 as the date of the founding of the post. John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1895), I: 148n.

<sup>2</sup> The history of Juchereau's establishment is traced in detail in the author's "Charles Juchereau de St. Denys: A French Pioneer in the Mississippi Valley," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXVIII, no. 4 (Mar., 1942), 563-80.

<sup>3</sup> See the author's "Shawneetown—A Chapter in the Indian History of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII, no. 2 (June, 1939), 193-205.

<sup>4</sup> Vaudreuil to Machault, Aug. 8, 1756, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856-1858), X: 436-37. (Cited hereafter as NYCD.)

<sup>5</sup> See memoir of La Galissonnière, 1757, in "Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 24: 110ff.; "Reflexions on the Same," *ibid.*, 139ff. (Cited hereafter as AE. References to manuscript materials are cited under archival file numbers.)

In addition to the English, there was the threat of hostile Indians, particularly the Chickasaw and the Cherokee those southern tribes who were the natural enemies of the French Indians and hence allies of the English. These tribes made their incursions via the Tennessee River, which was the ancient highway used by them in going to attack the northern Indians.<sup>6</sup>

The establishment of a strong post on the lower Ohio would not only serve a military end, it would also become the core of a trade center through which French influence might be extended to the Chickasaw and the Cherokee.<sup>7</sup>

The English also considered building fortifications on the lower Ohio at this time. The contest between the English and the French in 1753 and 1754 over possession of the forks of the Ohio encompassed the lower Ohio, which Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia planned to fortify to cut off communications of the French along that river with the Mississippi.<sup>8</sup> Also Governor Glen of South Carolina, who had authority to build tramontane fortifications, toyed with the idea of fortifying the mouths of the Tennessee and Wabash to cut off French communications along the Ohio.<sup>9</sup>

Thus it is clear that fortification of the lower Ohio by either the French or the English or both could not long be delayed. The French became so obsessed with the idea of fortifying the mouth of the Tennessee that they located the "projected

<sup>6</sup> In 1754, for example, a French party was attacked near the mouth of the Tennessee, suffering the loss of two dead and two captured. Deposition of one Mercier "Journal of Council of South Carolina, Oct. 22, 1754." Theodore C. Pease, *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755* (Illinois Historical Collections XXIX, Springfield, 1940), 912.

<sup>7</sup> Abbé de L'Isle Dieu to Machault, Oct. 12, 1754, *ibid.*, 907-10; Archive Nationales, Colonies (Paris), C11A, 99: 472-72v. (Cited hereafter as ANC.) M. Makarty, then commanding in the Illinois country, supported the idea strongly. However, the government would not commit itself at that time to the expenditure necessary for such an establishment. Duquesne to Machault, Oct. 13, 1754, NYCD X: 263.

<sup>8</sup> Lawrence Henry Gipson, *Zones of International Friction: North America, South of the Great Lakes Region, 1748-1754* (The British Empire Before the American Revolution, IV, New York, 1939), 305-6.

<sup>9</sup> See also David D. Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934) II: 9.

fort" on one of their maps two years before Fort Massac was actually built.<sup>10</sup>

Fortification of the headwaters of the Ohio by the French in 1752-1753 made it necessary for them to defend the lower river inasmuch as communications with the upper posts could not otherwise be maintained against the opposition of the Cherokee and Chickasaw and their English allies from the South. In 1756 Governor Kerlérec of Louisiana asked for authority to build a fort and trading post at or near the mouth of the Ohio.<sup>11</sup> Fear of the Cherokee raids was, therefore, the immediate reason why the French undertook the Fort Massac project.<sup>12</sup>

The Ohio route was of great importance to the French in supplying Fort Duquesne and the upper Ohio posts because French Canada was hardly self-sufficient in food even in normal times. When drought or other conditions caused poor harvests, food (especially flour) had to be imported from France.<sup>13</sup> In wartime, therefore, Canada could not supply food to her own forces, not to mention royal troops and Indian allies. The use of Indian allies in military operations was especially burdensome to the supply system. As one writer pictured this problem, "A party of Indians (is sent) to make prisoners, with 15 days' provisions; it returns at the end of 8 days victorious, or without striking a blow; it has consumed everything and demands provisions. How are they to be refused?"<sup>14</sup> The same authority estimated that, counting the support of the

<sup>10</sup> See the Bellin map of the Mississippi, 1755, plate XXIV, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country* (Illinois State Museum, Springfield, 1942). The "fort" was captioned *Fort François Projeté et commencé depuis Longtemps!*

<sup>11</sup> Kerlérec to Minister, Apr. 1, 1756, ANC, C13A, 39: 151-52; same to same, July 22, 1756, ANC, C13A, 39: 182.

<sup>12</sup> See also Journal of Capt. H. Gordon, Aug. 6, 1766 in C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The New Régime, 1756-1767* (Illinois Historical Collections, XI, Springfield, 1916), 295-96; Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (Paris, 1903), 79. Not only the Cherokee, but English bands were expected, with attacks on the Illinois settlements themselves being rumored. Vaudreuil to Machault, Apr. 19, 1757, NYCD, X: 540. At the same time the French were negotiating with the Cherokee, whom they eventually persuaded to turn against the English. Vaudreuil to Minister, July 13, 1757, ANC, C13A, 39: 307-8v.

<sup>13</sup> Memoir on Louisiana and Canada, Jan. 27, 1759, ANC, C13A, 41: 422v-23.

<sup>14</sup> Memoir on Canada, undated, NYCD, X: 933.



families of warriors, the government had to feed 6,000 Indian to get 2,000 to fight.<sup>15</sup>

From the beginning of the war, therefore, the question of how to provision the French forces was a serious one, especially since English naval power stood between France and her colonies. Under these circumstances the grain crop of the Illinois country became a most important asset to the French, and the support and maintenance of the posts in the Ohio country came to depend almost entirely upon the conveyance of Illinois flour and other provisions up the Ohio River.<sup>16</sup> The first convoy was sent to Fort Duquesne in 1753, with annual convoys thereafter until the fall of the fort in 1758. These convoys consisted of fifteen or more *bateaux* under military guard which, in addition to flour, carried biscuit, maize, fats and bacon, tobacco, salt, and lead. Convoys generally left the Illinois settlements in mid-March and were three months enroute to Fort Duquesne, the distance covered being 500 French leagues (about 1,250 miles).<sup>17</sup> The demands for provisions made by the upper Ohio forces on the Illinois commandant were not always met in full.<sup>18</sup> However, this assistance enabled the French to hold their positions on the upper Ohio until 1758.<sup>19</sup> The maintenance of the convoy route also facilitated the movement of western military personnel and Indian forces into the upper Ohio region.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Memoir on Canada, NYCD, X: 933.

<sup>16</sup> The Illinois grain crop was of sufficient size in good years for an export of 800,000 pounds of flour to New Orleans. First Memoir on Louisiana and Canada joined to a letter of the Duc de Choiseul, Jan. 27, 1759, ANC, C13A, 41: 419.

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum of Kerlérec, Dec. 12, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 141-141v.

<sup>18</sup> Thus, in 1755, M. Dumas, commandant at Fort Duquesne, asked for 120,000 pounds of flour and 40,000 pounds of pork. Makarty, the Illinois commandant, complied as far as possible, but was not able to supply "near the quantity that was desired." Dumas to Makarty, Nov. 10, 1755, NYCD, X: 407; Kerlérec to Machault, June 1, 1756, *ibid.*, 406.

<sup>19</sup> See Vaudreuil to Machault, Aug. 8, 1756, NYCD, X: 436. Speaking of the success of the convoy system, Vaudreuil said it afforded a source of supplies "whence I can derive succor in provisions and men, sooner and more easily than from the heart of this Colony." *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Kerlérec to Minister, Jan. 23, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 24; Request of Captain Aubry to Berryer, Feb. 24, 1761, *ibid.*, 42: 280-80v. Both these sources mention the movement of troops over the Ohio route. In 1758 Aubry headed a body of several hundred French and Indians which went up from the Illinois country to defend Fort Duquesne. This force dealt the English troops under Forbes a heavy blow shortly before the fort was abandoned.

In the spring of 1757, Makarty, the Illinois commandant, heard of a supposed Anglo-Indian attack via the Tennessee River. Accordingly he ordered a strong detachment of French and Indians under Captain Aubry to proceed to the mouth of the Tennessee to reconnoiter the situation "with the order to form upon the bank of this stream a retrenchment to hold fifty men in necessity."<sup>21</sup> Aubry's reconnaissance failed to contact the English, but, upon his return to the Ohio, he built a fort just below the mouth of the Tennessee on the Illinois side of the river, which was completed by June 20, 1757.<sup>22</sup> It is not clear that the English actually planned such an incursion in the spring of 1757, but it is known that they encouraged the Cherokee to make raids on the French, whom they suspected of being engaged in constructing a fort even before Aubry's expedition left for the Tennessee.<sup>23</sup>

The construction of Fort Massac was hasty and poorly executed. The structure was laid out in the form of a square of approximately one hundred feet with four bastions and a ditch. The walls were built of upright pickets of logs banked with earth. Surrounding the fort was a cleared area some four hundred yards wide. The structure was eventually mounted with eight guns and was capable of accommodating a garrison of one hundred men.<sup>24</sup> Deverge criticized the fort as being "much

<sup>21</sup> Deverge Memoir, Dec. 21, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 266.

<sup>22</sup> C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield, 1920), 239; Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, 205; Aubry to Berryer, Feb. 24, 1761, ANC, C13A, 42: 280.

<sup>23</sup> See Carolina Memoir, Apr. 24, 1757, ANC, C11E, 10: 180v. This account tells of Cherokee attacks on the French on the Tennessee "where they are working on the construction of a Fort." Further on it is stated that this supposed construction might be at the mouth of the Ohio, and then it is added, *ou bien dans celui où la rivière des Chéraquis se jette dans ce fleuve*. The deposition of a French prisoner to the effect that the French were building no fort on the lower Ohio in the spring of 1757 may have been made in ignorance or to conceal the fact. Curiously enough this deposition is dated the same day Aubry's men completed Fort Massac. Examination of Belestre, Winchester, June 20, 1757, NYCD, VII: 282.

<sup>24</sup> Aubry's account of the Illinois country, 1763, C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The Critical Period, 1763-1765* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, X, Springfield, 1915), 3; "Journal, From Fort Pitt, to Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country, by John Jennings," Mar. 27, 1766, Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 173; Memoir, Dec. 21, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 266v. See also Memorandum of Kerlérec, Dec. 12, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 140-40v; Report of Col. Robertson, Mar. 8, 1764, Alvord and Carter, *Critical Period*, 218.

too small and too weak" to resist any determined attack by the English, especially by boats coming down the Ohio.<sup>25</sup>

The origin of the name Massac has been a mystery to some writers, who have offered explanations sometimes cut from whole cloth. Among these are the tales that the fort was named for the engineer who built it (whose name, incidentally, was De la Gautraye!) or from the fact that the French garrison there supposedly had once been massacred by the Indians, from which the place was named "Fort Massacre," this being later corrupted to "Fort Massac."<sup>26</sup> The fort was originally called "Fort de L'Ascension," because the first piles were placed on that holy day in the Roman Catholic calendar.<sup>27</sup> The writer has not found exact information concerning the change in name though there can be no doubt that the new name was given in honor of M. Massiac, who was at that time the French Minister of the Marine.<sup>28</sup>

That Fort Massac played a very important role in securing the Ohio route is shown by documents covering the period 1757-1764. Serious incursions had been made by the Cherokee

<sup>25</sup> Deverge Memoir, Dec. 21, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 266v. He recommended a stronger fortification of masonry with river patrols for watch against possible attacks. *Ibid.*, 267-67v. Gov. Kerlérec apologized for the poor quality of the construction of the fort, attributing it to haste. Memorandum of Kerlérec, Dec. 12, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 140v. There is evidently no question of speculation and fraud in the construction, which was done by the soldiers. According to Montcalm this was the reason Canadian fortifications were so poor. He speaks of "the immense robberies committed by all those employed at them." The Marquis even called Canada's greatest engineer, M. de Léry, "a great ignoramus in his profession . . . who robbed the King like the rest." Montcalm to Le Normand, Apr. 12, 1759, NYCLX: 963.

<sup>26</sup> See again Page, *History of Massac County*, 24ff. The "massacre" tale is utterly without foundation and need not be related here. It may have been invented by Brown, whose book has an early reference to it. Brown, *History of Illinois*, 170-71. Page tells how, in President Harrison's administration, Whitelaw Reid, the American ambassador to France, tried in vain to check the name in French official records. Page, *History of Massac County*, 26. See also, Mrs. Matthew T. Scott, "Old Fort Massac," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1901* (Springfield, 1904), 45.

<sup>27</sup> Deverge Memoir, Dec. 21, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 266v; Reuben Gold Thwaites, in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, XVIII (Madison 1908), 210, n. 62.

<sup>28</sup> The first use of the new name which has been found dates from Aug. 30, 1759. Writing at that time in reference to an attack on the Illinois country made by a Chickasaw band, Makarty makes several references to "fort Massiac." Makarty to Kerlérec, Aug. 30, 1759, ANC, C13A, 41: 105v-106v; Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 411 n. 32.

immediately before the fort was built.<sup>29</sup> In the following year other raids were made, the French suffering considerable losses.<sup>30</sup> By this time the general shortage of supplies in Louisiana was seriously affecting the French war effort and Governor Kerlérec was pleading with the home government for relief from a situation which grew worse daily, especially in regard to maintaining French prestige among the savages.<sup>31</sup>

The problem of the Cherokee was given much attention by French authorities both in Canada and in Louisiana. Working through the Shawnee in the upper Ohio, the French succeeded in 1756 in arranging a truce between these Indians and the Illinois tribes. Through the Shawnee, who had relatives among the Cherokee, the French hoped to influence the latter to turn against the English.<sup>32</sup> It is interesting to note that this improvement in French diplomatic relations came at a time when the supply situation was growing increasingly desperate.<sup>33</sup> Even the loss of Fort Duquesne in 1758 did not destroy the French influence among the Cherokee. This is explained in large measure by the fact that the Cherokee warriors who marched with Forbes against the French fort became dissatis-

<sup>29</sup> Little Carpenter, the Cherokee chief who conducted these operations, reported as follows: "We have kill'd a great many of the French & their Indians & have made their blood run down Tanassée River." Lyttleton to Lords of Trade, Apr. 22, 1757, Public Record Office (London), CO5, v. 375 (Cited hereafter as PRO). No authority has been found for Thwaites' statement that raids were made in the autumn of 1757. See *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVIII, 210, n. 62.

<sup>30</sup> Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, II: 24. Kerlérec states that French losses in the Massac area for the years 1756-1758 were fifteen men and two officers. Memorandum of Kerlérec, Dec. 12, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 140v.

<sup>31</sup> Kerlérec to Minister, Aug. 28, 1757, ANC, C13A, 40: 34-35v; same to same, Aug. 12, 23, 1758, *ibid.*, 31v. In the latter document the governor writes: "Our Enemies double their efforts from the direction of Carolina to alienate from us the savages; they have already engaged a great part of the Cherokees; And according to the news I have received, these (Indians) have already come by their river to make a stroke in the neighborhood of our new fort on the ouabache, where they have killed eight men."

<sup>32</sup> For these matters see Vaudreuil to Machault, Aug. 8, 1756, NYCD, X: 437; extract of a letter from Richard Haddon to Messrs. Nathaniel Marston, Jaspar Parmer & Co., Dec. 29, 1756, NYCD, VII: 219-20; Gov. Charles Hardy to Lords of Trade, Mar. 4, 1757, *ibid.*, 219.

<sup>33</sup> French military successes in 1756 and 1757 were, of course, mainly responsible for this. Sir William Johnson, on the other hand, blamed the English in that they had failed to give sufficient presents to the Indians of the Ohio country as well as to reassure them in reference to land grants. Johnson to Lords of Trade, Nov. 10, 1756, NYCD, VII: 169-70; same to same, June 25, 1757, *ibid.*, 228.



fied and deserted the English. These warriors, led by Chief Little Carpenter, seem to have been disgruntled because of the treatment given them by Forbes and other British officers; they may also have been influenced by French propaganda, though this is not clear from the evidence at hand. Shortly thereafter the French succeeded in making an alliance with most of the Cherokee towns.<sup>34</sup> A Jesuit was sent to the upper Ohio early in 1758 and, it may be assumed, had some influence in strengthening French control over the Indians in that area.<sup>35</sup> The Illinois tribes remained faithful to the French despite some English influences. Several English traders who penetrated among these Indians were reported killed in 1758.<sup>36</sup> The Arkansas also kept faithful to the French, maintaining their reputation as the only tribe who had never soiled their hands with French blood.<sup>37</sup>

The fall of Fort Duquesne in November, 1758, was a great blow to the French. That the post held out as long as it did is explained, of course, by the fact that the French were able to provision it from the Illinois country. And also the great quantities of military stores captured by the French at Oswego in 1756 gave them a rich resource in these items, without which

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<sup>34</sup> The story of the Cherokee defection from the English cannot be told in full here. By 1760 the "over hill towns" were in general revolt against the English, this situation having developed in part as a result of English blundering in South Carolina in reference to Indian policy. In general the English strategy of trying to befriend the Shawnee and Delaware in Pennsylvania ran counter to Cherokee policy, which had been one of hostility to those tribes. It was, no doubt, a blunder to enlist the Cherokee in Forbes' force. Eventually the English in South Carolina were obliged to take up arms against the Cherokee, who in June, 1760, made peace with the French at Mobile. See Bull to Lords of Trade, June 30, 1760, PRO, CO5, v. 376; Gov. William Denny to Col. George Washington, Mar. 25, 1758, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 4, II: 915; Procès Verbal of Council of War Between Kerlérec and the Cherokee, June 24, 1760, in Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, 110.

<sup>35</sup> Vaudreuil to Minister, Feb. 13, 1758, ANC, C11A, 103: 19-19v. Officially, of course, the Jesuit's mission was "to insinuate the sentiments of Christianity into . . . the savages." The Jesuit sent to undertake this mission was Father Claude-François-Louis Virot, who located his mission at Sawcunk, on the site of the present Beaver, Pa. Little is known of his experiences there. See Clifford M. Lewis, S. J., "French Priests in Western Pennsylvania, 1739-1759," *Mid-America*, XXIX, no. 2 (April, 1947), 92-121.

<sup>36</sup> Memorandum of Kerlérec, Dec. 12, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 141v-42.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 142v-43v. A new fort was constructed at Arkansas Post, this being finished some time in 1759. Rochemore to Minister, June 23, 1760, ANC, C13A, 42: 121.

they could hardly have continued their establishments in the upper Ohio.<sup>38</sup> The belief of Governor Dinwiddie and others that the French possession of Fort Duquesne depended upon their control of Niagara and Crown Point is not substantiated by the facts.<sup>39</sup> Even at best, however, military strength on the upper Ohio was subject to considerable fluctuation, especially in harvest time when men had to be released for home service, both in Canada and in Louisiana.<sup>40</sup> By 1758, near famine was facing Canada, and there was a general scarcity of foodstuffs and soaring prices.<sup>41</sup> In the same year the strain upon the Illinois country occasioned by supplying the upper Ohio forces resulted in serious shortages of provisions in Louisiana, since that province normally depended upon Illinois for much of its food supply.<sup>42</sup> This scarcity was aggravated by a poor harvest in Illinois that year.<sup>43</sup>

In spite of these difficulties, the convoy from the Illinois country reached Fort Duquesne as usual in 1758, and supplies

<sup>38</sup> For an inventory of military stores, guns, boats, etc. taken, see "Journal of the Siege of Oswego," Aug. 11-14, 1756, NYCD, X: 443-44. See also Vaudreuil to Machault, Nov. 6, 1756, *ibid.*, 497-98.

<sup>39</sup> Dinwiddie stated in 1756 that "the possess'n of Lake Ontario, tak'g C. Point and Niagara, will prevent any Supplies of Provis' or Warlike Stores being carried to the Ohio, and in course Ft Duquesne will be deserted." Dinwiddie to Shirley, Mar. 13, 1756, *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758; Collections of the Virginia Historical Society* (Richmond, 1884), New series IV: 370. The opposite view is taken by Vaudreuil, who in 1757, stated that Fort Duquesne had been maintained "by having provisions sent from Detroit and also from the post of the Illinois; and had I neglected these two resources, ever so little . . . the Beautiful river would be at present wholly unprovided with provisions, and consequently all our forts abandoned." Vaudreuil to Moras, July 12, 1757, NYCD, X: 583.

<sup>40</sup> Detail of the Campaign of 1757, NYCD, X: 629; Vaudreuil to Moras, July 12, 1757, *ibid.*, 583-84.

<sup>41</sup> Prices of Provisions, 1758, NYCD, X: 711; Prices, Nov. 1, 1758, *ibid.*, 865-66. One writer noted at that time: "We are on the eve of the most cruel famine. . . . The mechanics, artisans and day-laborers exhausted by hunger absolutely cannot work any longer; they are so feeble that 'tis with difficulty they can sustain themselves." M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle, May 19, 1758, NYCD, X: 704. Some relief came at this time with the arrival of 10,000 barrels of flour from France. M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle, July 31, 1758, NYCD, X: 768. Some supplies were procured from Spain the following year, though the quantity received was not stated. Ministerial Minute, Mar. 9, 1759, *ibid.*, 944-45.

<sup>42</sup> Official approval of the use of Illinois provisions for the upper Ohio posts, which came in 1758, put Louisiana in a bad position in regard to complaint against the policy. Minister to Bigot, Feb. 10, 1758, ANC, B, 107: 276; Kerlérec to Minister, May 21, 1759, ANC, C13A, 41: 69v. Makarty wrote in 1759 that it was not possible to send flour to New Orleans because of the Canadian requisitions, *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Layssard to Descluseaux, Aug. 16, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 316.

were adequate in the early part of that year.<sup>44</sup> By September however, Montcalm was forced to concede the necessity of evacuating the upper Ohio forts, considering them untenable for another season.<sup>45</sup> The supply situation undoubtedly brought the French commander to this decision. Fortescue's statement that the loss of Fort Frontenac forced the French to give up Fort Duquesne because supplies from Canada were thereby cut off does not explain the situation satisfactorily.<sup>46</sup> More significant is the general failure of provisions and munitions and particularly the partial failure of the Illinois grain crop that year.<sup>47</sup>

It is noteworthy that English occupation of the forks of the Ohio in 1758 did not necessarily mean that they could hold that position. Both George Croghan and Sir William Johnson were doubtful that the English could maintain communication with the Ohio region unless the Indian situation in that area took a more favorable turn. Johnson doubted the wisdom of building a strong fort at Pittsburgh, fearing this would tend to alienate the Indians. At the same time, he pointed out that if the French were able to resume their supply convoys on the Ohio, they would be in a position to cut the English off.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> News from Carillon, June 2, 1758, *NYCD*, X: 710; Minister to Vaudreuil Aug. 7, 1758, *ANC*, B, 107: 44.

<sup>45</sup> Writing on Sept. 12, Montcalm stated: "Fort Duquesne no longer exists whether it has been attacked or taken, whether we are yet masters of it, the determination respecting that frontier must be adopted this winter, when the plan of special operations for the campaign of 1759, will be agreed upon." "General Reflections on the measures to be adopted for the Defence of this Colony." By M. de Montcalm undated. M. Vaudreuil's remarks on this document are dated Sept. 12, 1758. *NYCD*, X: 876; Memoir of Vaudreuil, Nov. 3, 1758, *ANC*, C11A, 103: 293-94. In the latter reference the governor pointed out the necessity of making peace during the coming winter, unless heavy reinforcements in supplies and trade goods should be received.

<sup>46</sup> Fortescue writes: "Bradstreet's capture of Fort Frontenac had already decided the fate of Fort Duquesne. The French commander, his supplies being cut off, was obliged to dismiss the greater number of his men; otherwise Forbes could hardly have penetrated to the Ohio in that year." J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (London, 1910), II: 342.

<sup>47</sup> At the time of the evacuation of the fort in November, 1758, only eighteen days' rations remained in the stores according to M. Waddington. Richard Waddington, *La Guerre de Sept Ans* (Paris, 1899), II: 406. See also, Aubry to Berryer Feb. 24, 1761, *ANC*, C13A, 42: 280v; M. Malaric to M. de Cremille, Apr. 9, 1759, *NYCD*, X: 956. The French evacuated and blew up the fort on Nov. 24, 1758.

<sup>48</sup> Johnson to Gage, Mar. 17, 1760, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany 1921), III: 200.



The fall of Fort Duquesne by no means reduced Fort Massac to a position of little importance. This post still served to protect communications on the lower Ohio as well as with Post Vincennes on the Wabash. Its importance in safeguarding the Mississippi convoy route was also stressed by the Louisiana authorities, who pointed out the utility of the post as a retreat for north-bound convoys in case of trouble between Arkansas Post and the Illinois country.<sup>49</sup>

The favorable turn of events in regard to French policy toward the Cherokee and Shawnee, which occurred at this time, made possible the execution of plans to convert Fort Massac into a trading center as well as a military post. Ministerial approval of the project to locate some of the Shawnee on the lower Ohio was given in 1758.<sup>50</sup> Early in 1759, some forty cabins of the Shawnee (then located at Scioto) were moved to the Illinois country by Peter Chartier, the French agent. These Indians located at or near Fort Massac, from which point their warriors carried on some raids against the English Indians to the southward. After a short stay at Massac, however, the Shawnee, fearing revenge from their enemies, fled to the Illinois settlements. Such is Vaudreuil's explanation of the movement. According to Makarty, a lack of provisions caused this new trek.<sup>51</sup> It must be assumed that these Shawnee soon returned to Scioto, since nothing more is heard of their presence in Illinois.<sup>52</sup>

There were at that time, however, rumors of an impending

<sup>49</sup> Memorandum of Kerlérec, Dec. 12, 1758, ANC, C13A, 40: 140v. In 1758 the French had a garrison of forty men at Vincennes under the command of St. Ange de Bellerive, *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Minister to Vaudreuil, Feb. 14, 1758, ANC, B, 107: 17. Vaudreuil, the Canadian governor, does not seem to have been very enthusiastic about this project, he being of the opinion that it could not be developed in wartime. Vaudreuil to Minister, Oct. 3, 1758, ANC, C11A, 103: 214v-15. The parallel between this policy and that carried out in reference to the Shawnee during King George's War is striking. See again the author's "Shawneetown," in *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* XXXII: 193-205.

<sup>51</sup> Vaudreuil to Berryer, June 24, 1760, NYCD, X: 1092; Makarty to Kerlérec, Aug. 30, 1759, ANC, C13A, 41: 106v.

<sup>52</sup> Makarty's letter of Aug. 30, 1759, (ANC, C13A, 41: 105,) states that the Shawnee were *par le défaut de vivres sur le moment de lever le pied pour aller rejoindre la bande des Soniota dont je ne Scaît absolument Rien de leur sentiment.*



English attack on Fort Massac from the direction of the Tennessee River.<sup>53</sup> In July, 1759, a band of Chickasaw, by-passing Fort Massac, raided the Illinois settlements, though they failed to do much damage.<sup>54</sup> Makarty was very uneasy for the safety of the Illinois country and pressed the Louisiana governor for reinforcements and supplies.<sup>55</sup>

At this time Makarty ordered repairs made on the fortifications at Massac, but he strongly urged that the future disposition of the place be seriously considered. He criticized the location of the fort and pointed out its weaknesses against possible attack.<sup>56</sup> Evidently supplies and reinforcements were secured, for in the spring of 1760, Neyon de Villiers, the successor to Makarty in the Illinois command, dispatched a convoy carrying fifty soldiers and *habitants* with considerable supplies and munitions to Fort Massac. The Sieur Declouet was relieved of the command at the fort, to be succeeded by Lieutenant Rocheblave. The new commandant was ordered to tighten discipline and to regulate the liquor traffic more closely.<sup>57</sup> The condition of the fortifications at this time was described as very bad, due to the poor quality of timber used in the original construction.<sup>58</sup> Under these circumstances, fears for the loss of Fort Massac under an English attack from the Ohio were only too well founded. On the other hand, the French had less to fear from the Cherokee, who had now turned against the English. The growing scarcity of trade goods in the Illinois

<sup>53</sup> Extract from the journal of Montcalm, May 11, 1759, in *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVIII: 209-10.

<sup>54</sup> Makarty to Kerlérec, Aug. 30, 1759, ANC, C13A, 41: 105-6. This Chickasaw band seems to have contained only thirteen warriors.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 106v. Makarty urged that a convoy be sent, be it ever so late in starting, for, he said, by the time it reached the mouth of the Ohio the bad weather would be over. In any case, he added: *ils ont pour ressources le fort massiac*.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 106v. Makarty ordered the fort to be "terraced, fraized and fortified, piece upon piece, with a good ditch," *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVIII: 217.

<sup>57</sup> Of interest also is the order to have prayers offered and "to put a check upon the blasphemy and oaths to which the soldiers are only too much afflicted." "Orders of Neyon de Villiers for Garrisoning Fort Massac," May 22, 1760, *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XVIII: 213-16.

<sup>58</sup> Most likely Aubry's men, in their haste, used cottonwood and willow logs instead of going farther inland to procure oak timber, which would have been much more difficult to cut and move to the site. See Rochemore to Minister, June 23, 1760, ANC, C13A, 42: 122-22v.

country continued, however, to embarrass the French who were trying to supply their Indian allies.<sup>59</sup> In military operations during this period, the French confined themselves to reconnoitering the Ohio against possible English incursions from Fort Pitt.<sup>60</sup> Attempts to influence the Illinois Indians to go to war as the allies of the Cherokee were a failure according to English intelligence.<sup>61</sup>

The prospect of the fall of Quebec and Montreal became more and more real after the evacuation of Fort Duquesne. Under such circumstances it was natural that the French would begin to consider how to defend Louisiana and how to save that region for France in the event of a negotiated peace. Indeed, since the outbreak of the war Frenchmen had been pondering the question of how France might satisfy English demands and still retain control of the Ohio River.<sup>62</sup> After the loss of Fort Duquesne, the question as to whether the French could successfully defend upper Louisiana became paramount. One writer, anticipating the fall of Quebec, suggested the capitulation of Canada and the withdrawal of Canadian forces to Louisiana where Montcalm might prepare new lines of defense.<sup>63</sup>

About the same time a proposal was made for the entire civilian population of Canada to move to Louisiana and be re-established there. This movement was to take place in three stages covering a three-year period. The first group of *habitants*

<sup>59</sup>Vaudreuil to Berryer, June 24, 1760, NYCD, X: 1092. Writing at the close of that year, Kerlérec warned the home government that this state of affairs could not continue. Up to that time the Indians were still under French control, but he emphasized that *La force de la parole françoise ne consiste que dans les marchandises qui l'accompagnent*. Kerlérec to Minister, Dec. 25, 1760, ANC, C13A, 42: 88. Earlier he had warned that Fort Massac could not be held unless trade goods could be made available to the Cherokee. Same to same, June 12, 1760, ANC, C13A, 42: 41-51v. A year later Kerlérec reported only 1,800 pounds of powder on hand at Fort Chartres and only 2,000 pounds of good powder at New Orleans. Same to same, Dec. 15, 1761, ANC, C13A, 42: 267-69.

<sup>60</sup>Kerlérec to Minister, Aug. 4, 1760, ANC, C13A, 42: 60v.

<sup>61</sup>Indian Intelligence, Enclosed in Johnson to Amherst, Feb. 12, 1761, *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, III: 336-37.

<sup>62</sup>See Draft of proposed Treaty, Mar. 1, 1756, Affaires Etrangères, Correspondence Politique, Amérique, 440: 92-95v.

<sup>63</sup>Fragment of Mémoire, undated, ANC, C11A, 103: 486-87.

would move to the Allegheny and locate between Forts I Boeuf and Duquesne. The second group would settle along the Ohio between Fort Duquesne and the Wabash, with a stronghold at the mouth of that river. The last group would settle near the mouth of the Ohio, where a city would be built and fortified as the new capital.<sup>64</sup> This project is of particular interest because its accomplishment would have made Fort Massac another Quebec. Even though nothing came of the scheme, it is worthwhile to examine it more carefully.

The arguments for the removal of the Canadians were (1) Canada could not be successfully defended against English land and sea power. (2) The loss of the Canadian fur trade could be offset by new enterprises in the interior. (3) Holders of land and fiefs could be recompensed by new grants in Louisiana. (4) The Jesuits and other religious groups could likewise be compensated by the opening of new fields of labor. (5) The hardships incident to the removal could be mitigated by adequate preparations and by extending the movement over a three-year period. (6) The Canadian *habitants* would welcome prospects of better soil and climate especially if they received support in the form of subsistence and tools from the government during the first year.<sup>65</sup>

Critics of the proposal pointed out: (1) The advantages of the Louisiana soil and climate had been exaggerated; poor soil was no reason why Canada should be abandoned. Canada could be made self-supporting. (2) To abandon Canada would be to give up a strategic area to the English. (3) France

<sup>64</sup> Memoir of Beaval on the Removal of the Canadians to Louisiana, Dec. 2, 1758, ANC, C11A, 103: 490-95; Second Memoir, Examination of the Project to Remove the Canadian Habitants to Louisiana, February, 1759, AE, Mém. et Doc. Amér., 24: 273. M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, brother of the Canadian governor, was suggested as the leader of this project.

<sup>65</sup> These advantages are listed in "Second Memoir on Canadian Removal to Louisiana," Jan. 27, 1759, ANC, C13A, 41: 424-27v. Another memoir entitled "Memoir on Louisiana and Canada," which was submitted at the same time, discusses the resources and characteristics of both provinces and refers to the plan for establishments on the lower Ohio, ANC, C13A, 41: 419-23v. This document mentions a proposed fort at the mouth of the Miami River, and another at the mouth of the Ohio on the right bank, with a new governmental center to be located at Fort Massac (*à Manchac* [sic] *où commencent les Terres hautes*).

was more able to populate her lands than was England.<sup>66</sup>

Even if the plan had been adopted, it could not have been carried out. The capture of Quebec in 1759 and the fall of Montreal the following year delivered Canada to the English. In any case, the plan would not have been practical because of the difficulties involved in moving masses of civilians to new homes in the distant and unbroken wilderness. Nevertheless, the project is interesting as an example of the emphasis placed upon the importance of the lower Ohio region.

In the negotiations for the Peace of 1763 the French fought hard to save Louisiana and the lower Ohio area. From their viewpoint one could not be held without the other. Should the English gain control of the Ohio, Louisiana would be thrown open to their future conquest.<sup>67</sup> In the peace negotiations the French counted upon their possession of Fort Massac to offset the loss of Fort Duquesne.<sup>68</sup> Finally they offered to cede Canada, while keeping Louisiana.<sup>69</sup> The Ohio and Wabash areas were, of course, considered as dependencies of Louisiana rather than of Canada.<sup>70</sup> In the end, France was obliged to give up Canada as well as the Ohio Valley and the east bank of the Mississippi. The cession of the west bank of the Mississippi to Spain spelled the final doom of the French continental empire in America.

<sup>66</sup> "Examination of the Project to Remove the Habitants of Canada to Louisiana, February, 1759," AE, Mém. et Doc., Amér., 24: 273-83v. The Duc de Choiseul, in transmitting this proposal to Silhouette, expressed the opinion that the idea of abandoning Canada was "absolutely opposed to the most commonly held ideas and to the System which has been continually pursued on our part since France possessed that part of North America." Choiseul to Silhouette, Jan. 27, 1759, ANC, C13A, 1: 428-28v.

<sup>67</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Ambassador in Spain, Jan. 6, 1760, AE, Correspondence Politique, Espagne, 527: 12v.

<sup>68</sup> Memoir on Louisiana, July 15, 1761, AE, Cor. Pol., Angleterre, 443: 358. The same reference may be found in AE, Cor. Pol., Etats-Unis, Sup., Vol. VI: 79v. In reality the French contended for the area drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

<sup>69</sup> Louisiana would be bounded *par les Eaux pendantes Sur les cotes de chacune*. Bussy to Minister of Foreign Affairs, June 19, 1761, AE, Cor. Pol., Angleterre, 443: 49v. This proposal also suggested that Canadians be free to migrate to Louisiana.

<sup>70</sup> Bussy to Minister, June 26, 1761, AE, Cor. Pol. Angleterre, 443: 290-90v; Memoir of Propositions of Peace, July 15, 1761, AE, Cor. Pol., Angleterre, 444: 1-18; Memoir on Canadian Boundaries by M. Dumas, Apr. 5, 1761, NYCD, X: 1136.



During the period immediately after the fall of Quebec and Montreal and prior to the signing of the Treaty of Paris the French in Louisiana found themselves in a very precarious situation. Cut off from the mother country, and desperately short of supplies, they watched their Indian allies join the English. An English invasion from the Ohio seemed imminent.<sup>71</sup>

Once the treaty was signed, an interim government of Louisiana had to be provided. M. Dabbadie was sent out in the capacity of "Director of Louisiana," the Sieur Aubry being put in command of the troops.<sup>72</sup> Orders were issued to reduce garrisons in the Illinois and neighboring posts but to hold the fort until the time for formal surrender to the English or Spanish. Such *habitants* as wished to move to the Indies or other French possessions were promised transportation.<sup>73</sup> Acting under these instructions Neyon de Villiers, the Illinois commandant, ordered the garrison at Fort Massac reduced to fifteen men and one officer, while the artillery at the fort, with the exception of three pieces, was sent to Ste Genevieve, across the Mississippi.<sup>74</sup> At the same time the Illinois garrison was reduced to about forty men.<sup>75</sup> In April, 1764, news of the cession of western Louisiana reached New Orleans.<sup>76</sup> Early in July the supernumeraries from the posts in the Illinois country arrived in lower Louisiana.<sup>77</sup> At about the same time Fort Massac was evacuated along with Fort Vincennes and other outlying posts.<sup>78</sup> Sain Ange, then commandant in Illinois, was left to await British occupancy, which in turn depended upon the restoration of

<sup>71</sup> Kerlérec to Minister, Mar. 1, 1761, ANC, C13A, 42: 207-8v.

<sup>72</sup> Memoir for Instructions to Dabbadie, Feb. 10, 1763, ANC, B116: 2-4.

<sup>73</sup> Memoir of the King, Instructions to M. Dabbadie, undated, ANC, C13A, 43: 221-21v.

<sup>74</sup> Of five guns sent to Ste Genevieve, one was of three, the others of two inches in size. Twenty-four balls and nineteen grenades were also sent away. DeVilliers to Dabbadie, Dec. 1, 1763, Alvord and Carter, *Critical Period*, 53; ANC, C13A, 43: 354.

<sup>75</sup> Dabbadie to Minister, Sept. 30, 1764, ANC, C13A, 44: 124-28.

<sup>76</sup> Rivoire to Grimaldi, June 25, 1764, ANC, C13B, 1: 103.

<sup>77</sup> Dabbadie Journal, 1763-1764, ANC, C13A, 43: 269v.

<sup>78</sup> Villiers du Terrage. *Les Dernières Années*, 190, n. 2. The exact date of the evacuation of Fort Massac has not been found.

peace with Pontiac and his band of rebellious Indians.<sup>79</sup>

Disposition of the artillery at Massac and other French posts was the subject of controversy between French and British authorities. The French government had instructed Louisiana officials to remove all artillery and other military property in the forts to Spanish territory. It was in accordance with these instructions that most of the guns at Fort Massac had been moved to Ste Genevieve.<sup>80</sup> Colonel Robertson, the British officer in charge of the Louisiana occupation, objected, maintaining that under the peace treaty military ordnance was a part of the cessions to be made by the French. Dabbadie finally agreed to leave some of the guns for protection against the Indians, stipulating that these were to be held in the status of a loan to the British in case it should be learned that the French were entitled to them under the treaty.<sup>81</sup>

Space does not permit a full relation of the story of the British occupation of the Illinois country.<sup>82</sup> It will be recalled that, though Canada capitulated in 1760, and Detroit surrendered early the following year, the English did not occupy the Illinois posts until 1765 because of Pontiac's Rebellion.<sup>83</sup> The attempt of the British force under Major Loftus to ascend the Mississippi in 1764 to accept the surrender of the Illinois coun-

<sup>79</sup> St. Ange to Dabbadie, Nov. 9, 1764, NYCD, X: 1158. The official French position in reference to Pontiac's uprising was one of correct neutrality. Presents to the Indians were, however, continued as a part of official policy, thus making it difficult to distinguish between neutrality and secret hostility to the English. See Memoir of the King, Instructions to Dabbadie, undated, ANC, C13A, 43: 222v-23; Dabbadie to Minister, Sept. 10, 1764, ANC, C13A, 44: 121v. It should be added that the scarcity of supplies in the Illinois country and in Louisiana prevented any considerable aid being given the Indians even had the French desired it.

<sup>80</sup> See Royal Instructions to Dabbadie, undated, ANC, C13A, 43: 223.

<sup>81</sup> Dabbadie to Robertson, Nov. 7, 1763, ANC, C13A, 43: 245-47; Board of Trade, Plantations General, No. 19, folios 605-8; Dabbadie to Minister, Jan. 10, 1764, ANC, C13A, 44: 27v-28v; Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, 172; Robertson to Dabbadie, Dec. 5, 1763, ANC, C13A, 43: 397-99 (translation to French).

<sup>82</sup> An excellent account covering all phases of this subject may be found in Alvord and Carter, *Critical Period*, xxix-lviii.

<sup>83</sup> Articles of Capitulation for the Surrender of Canada, Sept. 8, 1760, NYCD, I: 1107-20; Amherst to Johnson, Feb. 1, 1761, *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, I: 315-16; Croghan's Journal of Transactions with the Western Indians, 1765, NYCD, VII: 781.

try was frustrated by hostile Indians.<sup>84</sup> A small British force which went overland from Mobile via Kentucky, arrived at Fort Chartres in February, 1765, but was compelled to leave due to the attitude of the savages.<sup>85</sup> Fort Chartres finally surrendered to Captain Stirling of the Forty-Second (Black Watch) Regiment, who led a detachment down the Ohio in the late summer and early autumn of 1765.<sup>86</sup>

In occupying the Illinois country the British originally planned to garrison Fort Massac with a force of sixty men. Sir William Johnson, the English Indian agent, was particularly concerned about the problem of the Delaware, the Seneca and the Shawnee Indians, all of whom had co-operated with the French during the war. Johnson thought the French would continue to supply these Indians, thus keeping them loyal until Canada might be regained.<sup>87</sup> To offset this George Croghan advocated purchasing from the Indians the area between the mouth of the Ohio and the Illinois River and planting there "a respectable colony, in order to secure our frontiers, and prevent the French from any attempt to rival us in the Fur trade with the Natives."<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Enclosure, Dabbadie to Minister, Mar. 30, 1764, ANC, F 3, 25: 211-12; Dabbadie to Minister, June 29, 1764, ANC, C13A, 44: 74-77; DeVilliers to Loftus, Apr. 20, 1764, ANC, C13A, 44: 94. In the last reference DeVilliers reported Loftus on Pontiac's activities in the Illinois country.

<sup>85</sup> Alvord and Carter, *Critical Period*, xlvii-l. At about the same time, a British officer, Fraser, and George Croghan, the Pennsylvania trader, set out for the Illinois country via the Ohio. Croghan was detained in Indian conferences at Fort Pitt, while Fraser, traveling ahead, reached Fort Chartres only to encounter the same attitude on the part of the savages and to follow the first British party to New Orleans. *Ibid.* li-iii. Croghan eventually found his way to the Ouiatanon Post and then to Detroit where a treaty was made with Pontiac. *Ibid.* liv-lv.

<sup>86</sup> At the same time Maj. Farmar was leading a British detachment up the river from New Orleans. Fort Chartres was surrendered by St. Ange on Oct. 10, 1766. Alvord and Carter, *Critical Period*, lvi-lvii; NYCD, X: 1161-65; Aubry to Minister, Mar. 12, 1766, ANC, F 3, 25: 247. Aubry gives the date as Oct. 8.

<sup>87</sup> Report of Col. Robertson, Mar. 8, 1764, Alvord and Carter, *Critical Period*, 220; Gage to Bouquet, Oct. 15, 1764, *ibid.*, 348.

<sup>88</sup> Johnson to Lords of Trade, Nov. 13, 1763, NYCD, VII: 575-76. Johnson also stressed French influence in trade relations with these Indians and others in the West. In 1765 he wrote that the "French Inhabitants at the Illinois, Assumpton (i.e. Fort Massac), Post Vincent, Ouiatanon, Miamis, Detroit, &c are more than Sufficient to Engross all the Trade in them parts." Same to same, Nov. 16, 1765, Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 120.

<sup>89</sup> Croghan to Lords of Trade, June 8, 1764, NYCD, VII: 605.

Fort Massac, however, was not destined to serve as a link in the chain of British power in the west. Before the British occupied the place, it was burned by Chickasaw Indians.<sup>90</sup> Though consideration was given to the reconstruction of the fort, this was not to be undertaken by the British. A generation later the Americans were to raise a new fortification, the construction of which will begin the second chapter in the story of Fort Massac.<sup>91</sup>



<sup>90</sup> Farmar to Gage, Dec. 16-19, 1765, Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 132.

The date of the destruction of the fort is not known, though it was probably 1765.

<sup>91</sup> The Barrington Plan recommended the re-establishment of the fort. Barrington's Plan for the West, May 10, 1766, Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 239; Gage's remarks on the same, *ibid.*, 244. Gordon, writing somewhat later, mentioned the advantages to be expected from a fortification at the site of the former French post, pointing out that it would afford protection to traders on the Ohio, keep the French in check, and serve to keep the balance between the Cherokee and the Wabash Indians in a political light." Gordon also praised the location in reference to food supply. Buffalo, he said, could be had near by in plenty. Gordon's Journal, *ibid.*, 296, 301. See also Baynton and Wharton to Maclean, Oct. 9, 1767, C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *Trade and Politics, 1767-1769* (Illinois Historical Collections, XVI, Springfield, 1921), 85.



## MONMOUTH LITERARY SOCIETIES

BY LOREN P. BETH

LITERARY societies were one of the phenomena peculiar to college life all over the United States during the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth. Monmouth College was no exception; in fact, the school was unusual for the strength of its literary activities. From the birth of the college up to the middle 1920's, literary societies played a leading role in campus life. Many Monmouth graduates still recall their membership in a literary society as the high point of their college careers.

Monmouth College was opened in 1856, in Monmouth, Illinois. The fledgling school could count its students in the tens in that first semester and the majority were boys. But in spite of their weakness numerically, they wanted a literary society. Accordingly, during the week of September 3, 1856—the first week of the college's existence—ten or twelve of them met under the sponsorship of Professor Marion Morrison. Then and there they founded Monmouth's first literary society, the Erodolphian.

President David A. Wallace was heartily in favor of the move, and the college provided the new organization with a meeting hall. In addition, a benefit dinner was given which

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netted about \$120, which was to be used in fitting up the hall. The new college building on North B Street was the location of the meeting place.

Daniel Harris, who had been in a literary society at Washington Academy in Iowa, was elected first president of Erodelphian Society; the constitution of the Iowa society was used, with slight changes.

Before the organization had gotten well under way, however, President Wallace suggested that perhaps it would be better to have two societies. His idea was that a healthy rivalry would develop between them and thus their growth would be promoted. Acting upon his recommendation in January, 1857, "after very earnest and prolonged discussion," the society was divided in two by taking every other name on the membership roll. Still to be settled was the problem of who was to keep the meeting hall and who would have to move. Finally, after much debate, the groups drew lots. James Harris—Daniel's brother—and his group won and thus remained in the original meeting hall. Daniel Harris and the others on his list had to find a new place to hold their meetings.

Neither society retained the old name. One took the name Philadelphian, and the motto *Vincit qui se vincit*, "He conquers who conquers himself." Philo, as it came to be called, dates its beginning from that of the original society: September, 1856. As far as can be determined, the first Philos to graduate from Monmouth were William S. McClanahan, Robert W. McLaughry, and James S. Patterson, all of the class of 1860.

The new society selected Eccritean (Greek, "better") as its name, and took the motto *Sic itur ad astra*, or "This way to the stars."

The first contest between the two societies took place in December, 1857, after a challenge by the Eccriteans in the spring of that year. It was divided into four events: Select Oration, Original Essays, Original Orations, and Discussion (probably debate). Until 1867, although contests were held

yearly, there were no judges. There were frequent quarrels over procedure and at times relations were rather bitter between the two societies.

The ladies of the college lost no time in imitating the gentlemen, and by October, 1857, there was a society on the campus for them, also. This was the Amateurs des Belles Lettres, or ABL, which started off with eighteen young women on its rolls. The motto of the feminine organization was *Droit et Avant* ("Right and forward").

The last of the four "literaries" was not organized until the female enrollment was somewhat increased. The Aletheorian Society had its start in September, 1862, with three seniors and two juniors taking the lead. *Aude sapere* ("Dare to be wise") was the organization's challenging motto.

Early college newspapers and the minutes of the societies provide some interesting side lights about their activities. Philo, for instance, was evidently troubled with books disappearing from its library, for in 1867 the society passed a resolution that any member loaning a book to a person not a member should be fined twice the value of the book. This rather stiff penalty was presumably effective.

About the same time, there appeared on the campus a short-lived debating club called the Jeffersonian, which asked Eccritean for permission to use its meeting hall. The latter, which probably felt that it had enough competition anyway, refused. The power of the press took a hand in the matter however, when the college *Courier* declared editorially, "We have nothing to say, except that we think the society did wrong for such a club ought to be encouraged instead of discouraged for it is to the society's own interest, as well as the interest of the college." Confronted with this, Eccritean, the following week, rescinded its refusal and Jeffersonian lived out its abortive life in the Eccritean hall. About this time the literary societies began to emphasize debate and thus there was no necessity for separate organizations.

Going back to the first battle on the stand between Philo and Eccritean, it might be interesting to delve a little further into the proceedings. The "select orations"—not written by the speakers—included a little number entitled "How Ought the American Mind to be Cultivated?" and some selections from Webster. Essays were read next. "The Memory of Our Noble Dead" was the first, followed by a more contemporary problem, "Contests." Two original orations continued the program: "Public Professions of the Present Age" and "Eulogy on Henry Clay." The last item was a debate on the question of the day, "Would it be Expedient for Congress to Prohibit Slavery in the Territories?" With such meaty fare it is probable that the audience went home to a good night's sleep.

The women also got the contest fever early. Friday, March 31, 1865, was the date of their first word battle. There was, as with the men, a certain preoccupation with death evident on the program. The "selections" were "Edinburgh After Flodden" and "Death the Peace Maker"; essays were given on "Labor" and "The Battle Field." The evening ended with a debate, "Has Our Nation Been Surrounded with Circumstances Favorable to the Growth of Literature, as Other Nations?" Culture, even then, was spelled with a capital "C."

Contest rules and practices were continual sources of contention between the societies throughout their existence. The year 1880 saw a bitter dispute over the location of the contest. Eccritean wanted Union Hall (an old opera house) on Main Street, while Philo plumped for the college chapel. No way was found out of this impasse and it gave rise to disputes on other points—disputes which culminated in the breaking off of diplomatic relations.

With their inter-society contests not being held, the two organizations turned to intercollegiate events. Iowa Wesleyan was the victim of a ten-to-nothing drubbing by the Eccriteans in 1882 and Philo split two contests with Knox College. The intramural quarrel was patched up late that year, however, and



the contests were resumed. In 1889, the cumulative total score gave the Eccriteans a slight edge over Philo, 107 to 103; at the same time ABL held a decisive lead over Aletheorian, 98 to 72.

For several years, starting in 1869, the four societies jointly financed and produced the *Courier*, a monthly newspaper. Evidently the venture was not profitable, for in 1876 Eccritean withdrew, soon followed by the other societies, and the *Courier* was reorganized as a joint stock company.

Tradition held sway in the literary societies much as it has in all of Monmouth's activities. No one knows the exact origin of Peanut Night, but it developed into the event of the year for both of the men's societies. Probably it started when the selections were made for the annual contest, with those elected treating their friends. Before 1870, it had become customary for the contestants-elect to treat the whole society to peanuts.

Peanut Night later became a big affair, as the following account of 1885 shows:

It is the night of the day on which the contestants for the Philo-Eccritean contest are elected. The contestants elect buy the peanuts and treat the societies at the college, then march to the homes of the president and professors, giving each a musical entertainment and a treat to peanuts. . . . though it rained quite hard just at the time of meeting at the college, it did not prohibit the societies, band, and quite a large crowd of visitors from assembling at the college about 7:30 o'clock. Peanuts, bananas and oranges were plentifully distributed and from the way they disappeared the boys enjoyed them . . . the cadet band gave some excellent music. Then the procession was formed consisting of about one hundred and fifty. They went first to Dr. McMichael's and after music were greeted by the Dr. with a pleasant and comical speech in which he spoke of the harmony of the societies and the good work they had done.<sup>1</sup>

The procession continued to the homes of all the other professors in spite of the downpour and all had an enjoyable evening. Still later, Peanut Night was turned into an annual banquet, which was held with much pomp at the Colonial Hotel and was the high light of the social season.

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<sup>1</sup> Monmouth College *Collegian*, May 5, 1885.

In 1867, the four societies jointly sponsored a lecture course, which project was continued until 1878. Starting in 1888 the men's organizations sponsored a lecture and concert course, which barely broke even financially but was successful enough to continue for many years.

The first "open meeting"—open to the general public—was given in 1858 by Eccritean and ABL. It was a success and the custom was taken up by the other societies. The open meetings were usually held at the beginning of each semester and thus served as a sort of "rushing" event for prospective members. In 1884, a joint open meeting was held and, although the newspaper accounts called its quality "disappointing," the four groups developed it into an annual affair.

Another time-honored custom was the granting of diplomas. Apparently the college diplomas were considered insufficient, so the societies added their own. Two presentation meetings were held, with one male and one female society included in each. There was much florid toasting and responding—non-liquid—and quite a few minutes of speechmaking. The historian of the Eccritean Society, speaks of these diplomas as being "written in choice Latin and most beautifully engraved."

Field days were for many years practically the only form of formal athletics at the college. They were held as part of the commencement exercises, a whole day being reserved for the sports contests between the two men's societies.

For the girls, the customary events were not so active. Both societies had an annual spread which was held, usually, about the middle of the winter term (Monmouth for many years had a three-term year). Starting in 1902, the ABL's had an annual chafing dish party to welcome new girls. In May, 1880, the ABL girls gave a party that was evidently quite a hit, and was similar to the present YMCA-YWCA carnivals at Monmouth:

Philo Hall was turned into a curiosity shop . . . among the relics were pictures of the past faculties . . . the *Courier* and *Atlas* [town paper] received

their share of notice and honor from two young ladies . . . whose dresses were made of old papers. . . . Eccritean Hall was the concert room. . . . In Aletheorian Hall we found our ancestors of an hundred years ago. . . . The main attraction was the refreshment.<sup>2</sup>

From these comments it is obvious that, in addition to their literary work, the societies fulfilled a social function; in fact, there is some question as to whether they were not more important as social outlets than as agencies of education. Monmouth, throughout the first half-century of its existence, had little or no liking for social life—officially at least—and there were few organized facilities for such activity. It is only natural that the literary societies should become a means of filling that void.

Even though the records show that Eccritean gave \$500 to the college endowment in 1899, it is true that the societies especially the girls' organizations, had their troubles financially. Special assessments appear frequently in the minutes of the organization, and in 1863 Eccritean ended one semester with a net deficit of \$3.90. Evidently there was the usual amount of difficulty in collecting dues. The records show that at an Eccritean meeting of 1873, the treasurer gave a report which excluded most of those present from the privileges of membership due to nonpayment of the sessional tax. A motion was thereupon passed suspending the constitution so as to give them the right to vote, and the society proceeded with its business.

All of the societies maintained libraries for the use of their members. Until 1902, the college had no library building of its own, merely using a corner of the Warren County Library. For this reason the society libraries were much more convenient than the college's, and the groups made strenuous efforts to have books which were used in courses at the school. The ABI library in 1873, included such volumes as histories by Gibbon, Hume, and Macauley, and also Shakespeare, Milton, Burns

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<sup>2</sup> Monmouth College *Courier*, Vol. I, May, 1880.

cott, Byron, Irving, and Elizabeth Barrett. A few such volumes as *Prize Essays on the Sabbath, What Can Women Do?* and *Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood* also made their appearance. By 1892, Aletheorian, the smallest group, had 150 volumes in its library, while ABL had 225, Philo 570, and Eccritean 611. In 1880, according to a contemporary account, the Eccriteans received a shipment of books so large "as to necessitate a new bookcase." The newspaper account of this event went on to call this a "move in the right direction. Surplus funds cannot be better invested than in building up a good library."<sup>3</sup> When the present college library was built in 1902, ABL turned its entire collection over to the school.

Eccriteans prided themselves on the charter they had received from the state of Illinois, the preamble of which stated the organization's object as follows: "the establishment of a society and library for literary and scientific purposes." The charter was dated February 16, 1865. Among this society's other trophies was the gavel received in 1903, which was made a part of the pilot wheel of the Spanish flagship at the Battle of Manila Bay.

In their first days, the societies met in the original college building on North B Street. When Old Main was built on the present campus in 1863, a change of location for the meetings was necessary. Where the girls' societies went is not recorded; but the men were provided with two meeting halls in the new building. One was on the third floor and the other on the second. This in itself would have occasioned no serious disagreement, but the hall on the second floor had a row of iron pillars which were looked upon as a disadvantage. For this reason both societies wanted the third floor hall, and neither would consent to taking the other. Finally, after much dispute, the privilege of choice was auctioned. Whichever society bid higher was to pay the amount of the bid to the other society and in return get its choice of halls. Philo gained the right of

<sup>3</sup> *Courier*, Mar., 1880.





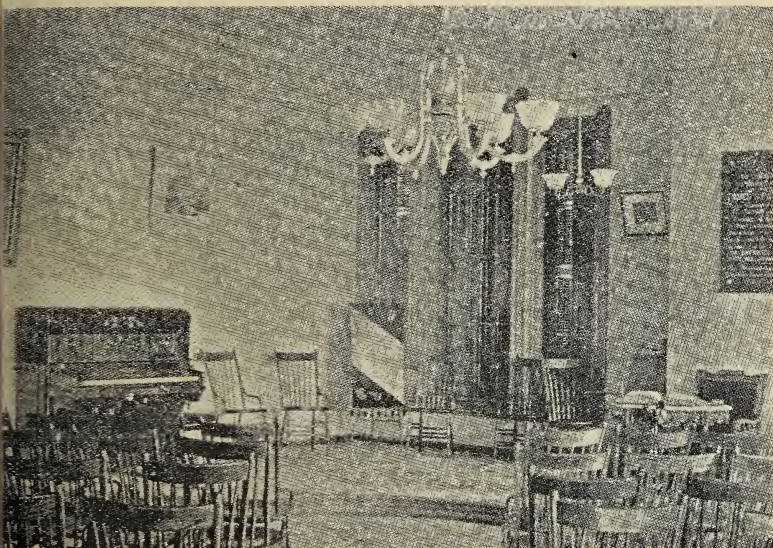
*From Monmouth College "Ravelings," 1894*

### ECCRITEAN HALL IN 1894

Note the iron pillars at the edge of the low platform.

choice by this method, chose the third floor hall, and paid \$4 to the Eccriteans. After this all was well. The Eccriteans soon became proud of their second floor room (pillars and all) and said that anything above the second floor should be classified with the college garret. This arrangement worked well for many years, in spite of raids on each other occasioned by the bitter rivalry, which was much more active than any rivalrie known to the students of today.

November 14, 1907, was the date of the famous fire which destroyed Old Main, necessitating the construction of a new recitation building. Known as Wallace Hall, this structure contained rooms for each of the societies, including the ladies. The rooms were located on the third floor, which originally was devoted to their exclusive use. They were decorated under the direction of the societies; descriptions of their appearance



*From Monmouth College "Ravelings," 1894*

### PHILADELPHIAN HALL IN 1894

An unobstructed view cost this literary society \$45.

and pictures of them, seem rather gruesome to present-day tastes, but it was felt then that they were a reason for pride. The societies moved into their new homes in 1909, at which time an enthusiastic journalist waxed eloquent in their praise. He wrote:

Now Monmouth College throws open to her visitors four literary halls such as are unequalled by similar halls in any of the colleges of the country. . . . the design of each is artistic and harmonious. . . . the halls are spacious, each easily seating two hundred people.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps more important than all this is the actual work of the societies.

The usual meeting had the following procedure:

Call to order

Devotional service

Literary exercises

<sup>4</sup> Monmouth College *Ravelings*, 1910.



Criticism

Miscellaneous business

Initiation of new members

Adjournment

Apparently animal spirits were as common in the Victorian period as they are now, even among the ladies, for there was evidently frequent trouble in getting the members settled down so that the meeting could start. The minutes of one meeting record "the usual trouble to get the ladies in the hall . . . Miss Joss and Miss Stevens fined ten cents for whispering."

From the beginning, the societies found it necessary to levy fines for absence, and at times this apparently caused quite an addition to the treasury. In an attempt to liven up the "call to order," ABL decreed "that members of society respond to roll call with a sentiment from the author who shall have been selected as the subject of the performances for that evening. That custom to begin in two weeks and Carlyle to be the first author." This custom, reinforced by a five-cent fine, was in effect until the end of ABL's existence. The minutes of various groups show that at times there were so few members present that no meetings were held; usually these occasions were caused by bad weather or conflicting attractions.

Devotional exercise usually consisted of a prayer and no much else. The impression given by the minutes is that this was the least important part of the meeting. The real "meat" of the programs was the literary exercises, which consisted of orations, declamations, essays, and debates, usually in that order. Comments such as "performances good in quality but lacking in quantity" show that our ancestors were not quite as ambitious as they would have us believe. Fines for nonperformance were more frequent than those for absence; at times whole sections of the assigned program were missing. On the other hand the speakers many times were commended for their good work. It is evident, however, that the societies, like most mortal institutions, were never quite able to live up to their aims. The

newspapers frequently exhorted the students to give more effort and attention to their society work. As early as 1878, the comment ran in this vein:

We are apt to forget the importance of society work. Many regard the preparation of our performances too much as a disagreeable duty. . . . Too many put off the work of preparation till the eleventh hour and then rely on the inspiration of the moment to help them out. Let all resolve to do their society work more conscientiously.<sup>5</sup>

Another issue complained that too many were giving the easier poetic declamations instead of orations.

The debate was the high spot of the evening. Usually it was on some topic of the day, such as the desirability of universal compulsory education or of giving women the vote. But every now and then something lighter would crop up. One evening the question for debate was, "Has the president the right to fine members for smoking in the hall after society has adjourned?" The affirmative was adjudged to be the winner, and the president probably went on levying fines for the offense. At the same meeting, incidentally, one member was fined twenty-five cents for leaning his head against the wall!

Another topic of debate which might seem rather unusual today was picked by Eccritean one night in 1876. The members very seriously held forth on the question, "Resolved, that the Constitution of the United States be so amended as to recognize Almighty God as the author of Government, Jesus Christ as the ruler of Nations, and the Bible as the fountain of Law." The decision is not recorded!

Although generally the chroniclers who wrote the minutes were very orthodox, one evidently had a sense of humor. His contribution to history is as follows:

The question for discussion was "Resolved, that a national school should be established at Washington DC." The leaders on the question were McIlvain affirmative and Burns negative. Farquar, Mahan and Anderson were chosen Judges. After a limited discussion the question was still undecided. One of the judges leaning toward the affirmative, a second toward the negative, the third perpendicular—that is to say, undecided.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Courier*, Oct., 1878.

<sup>6</sup> Minutes, Eccritean Society, Nov. 29, 1872.



Other things sometimes interrupted the proceedings. There was, for instance, the time the debate was on the question of whether or not Aaron Burr was guilty of treason. "The first speaker made a very fine speech. But in the heat of the second speaker's discourse, the alarm of 'fire' cut short his eloquence and the society adjourned in confusion."

Such happenings merely serve to illustrate that in spite of the somewhat repressive spirit of the college, people were not really any different from what they are now.

In the men's societies the regular debate was followed by "sentimental" debate, when the whole organization joined in discussing the same question. This was regarded as one of the most valuable parts of the literary program.

The girls also had their lighter moments. One cold winter night's meeting was the cause of the following:

Meeting called to order in chapel whither society had resorted as a preferable place to ABL Hall in which the temperature was regarded as being too cool for comfort as the oxygen and carbon in the stove had failed to unite sufficiently to cause combustion. Literary performances very good in quality but slightly lacking in quantity, the latter of which being very acceptable to the society on account of the uncomfortable place of meeting and of the difficulties on the part of some of the members to keep themselves in proper decorum.<sup>7</sup>

The vice-president's job in the societies was to criticize the performances of the evening. In this task he was aided by the membership as a whole. Once in a while newspaper comment complained that the criticism was made in too great a spirit of levity, but on the whole this part of the program was not regarded very seriously.

Business came next and it was at this point that elections were held. An early campus scandal was caused when a contestant was publicly accused of plagiarism, and this affair rated a half page written in a fine longhand in the business section of the minutes:

Mr. Wallace stated to society that all difficulties had been settled between him and Mr. Yost, and moved that society take no further action in the

<sup>7</sup> Minutes, Amateurs des Belles Lettres Society, 1873.

matter. The motion was amended by Mr. Patton as follows: Whereas Mr. Yost has made the following statement to be printed in the next issue of the *Courier*—

"In the last issue of the *Courier* appeared an article written by myself reflecting discredit on Mr. John Wallace. I fully exonerate the gentleman from anything to be called *literary piracy* in the performance referred to.

Signed Wm Yost

Accepted John Wallace"

therefore be it resolved that no further action be taken in regard to the matter by society . . . after burying the hatchet, society adjourned.<sup>8</sup>

Last on the order of the evening was the acceptance and initiation of new members. This was often referred to in the minutes, but seldom in as flowery a style as the following: "the society welcomed Miss Anna Porter and Miss Florence Mathews with arms of love and a holy kiss." New members were required to take a rather comprehensive oath, which in the case of the ABL was phrased as follows:

Do you pledge yourself to support the Constitution and By-Laws, to discharge faithfully all the duties arising therefrom, to give such pecuniary aid as circumstances may at any time require, and to conduct yourself at all times, and under all circumstances, in such a manner as to reflect credit upon yourself and the Society?

One who took this oath, in 1876, was Miss Alice Winbigler, who became one of the leading lights of the society and later was one of the most beloved of Monmouth teachers. The girls' dormitory, built in 1946, is named for her.

For many years, from the 1870's on, there were few fundamental changes in the activities or the forms of the literary societies; not that they were stagnant, but they seem to have achieved a sort of synthesis with their environment. They filled a definite place, and since the school and the era were slow to change and on the whole prejudiced against change, the literary societies took on the same characteristics. One change noted in the newspapers was the increasing use of music in the meetings. The societies formed their own quartets, and at open meetings local bands often played.

<sup>8</sup> Minutes, Eccritean Society, May 19, 1876.

In 1833, the rivalry between the men's organizations was so intense that the college had to direct them to end their meetings by eleven o'clock in order to avoid "wranglings." That this rivalry was one of the major features of college life is amply attested by the frequent references to it in the papers and yearbooks. To a certain extent the competition was undoubtedly healthy, but on the other hand, it often led to vandalism and sometimes to fisticuffs.

The heyday of the literary societies was in the period from about 1890 to 1915. By 1890 their developmental stage had been completed—their major customs had been formed, and their meeting places and their treasuries were adequate. For about twenty-five years, these groups *were* the Monmouth College extracurricular activity, just as they were the school's social life. Everyone who was anyone belonged to a literary society and competition for new members was as keen as in any fraternity rush period.

With the end of World War I, "literaries" entered upon a period of decline; the slow broadening of the curriculum and the growth of outside activities brought other interests which made the societies less attractive and essential. By 1928 the girls' societies had disappeared; the men's hung on for a few years longer, but by 1933 they too had gone.

The decline and demise of these societies is an interesting problem in social change. While on the surface there was no particular reason why they should not have been able to adapt themselves to changing circumstances, deeper investigation shows that their functions had been largely taken over by other agencies long before their final death. Not only Monmouth but other schools had the same experience. The development of intercollegiate debate organizations and other national forensic groups meant the end of the literary societies as agencies for the teaching and practice of debate. Philo made an attempt to swing with the tide by helping to form a national literary society about 1924; Kappa Phi Sigma had six chapters in

the Middle West but apparently never grew to man's estate.

Another major factor in the demise was probably the legalization by the college of fraternities in 1923. Although these organizations had existed *sub rosa* for many years, the administration had always been against them and they had not been able to break this opposition. However, their very persistence evidently finally persuaded the college that there was some use for them. As far back as 1880 the literary societies were aware of the possible threat which fraternities presented to their own existence. An editorial of that year declared:

Secret fraternities . . . interfere greatly with the proper conducting of literary societies, which are an essential part of every well regulated college, and are a fruitful source of chicanery and dishonorable means to promote those of their own stripe to positions of honor.<sup>9</sup>

These were prophetic words. For by 1925 fraternity rivalries were replacing those of the literary societies, and there were few even to mourn when the old organizations passed out of the picture. The *Oracle*, college newspaper, expressed the general feeling when it editorialized on the passing of the two ladies' societies:

Two of our oldest organizations on our campus disbanded this fall because the students felt that the day for these literary societies was past and that the benefit derived from them did not balance the energy spent upon them.

Philo and Eccritean, which hung on precariously for several more years, became more or less laughing stocks on the campus; references to them in the newspaper were sarcastic or merely jesting. Most of their energy was spent in the struggle for existence. Eccritean finally passed from the college scene in 1932, and Philo in 1933. So, after seventy-seven years of service to the college, an institution disappeared, as all must which are unable to adapt to changing conditions.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Courier*, May, 1880.

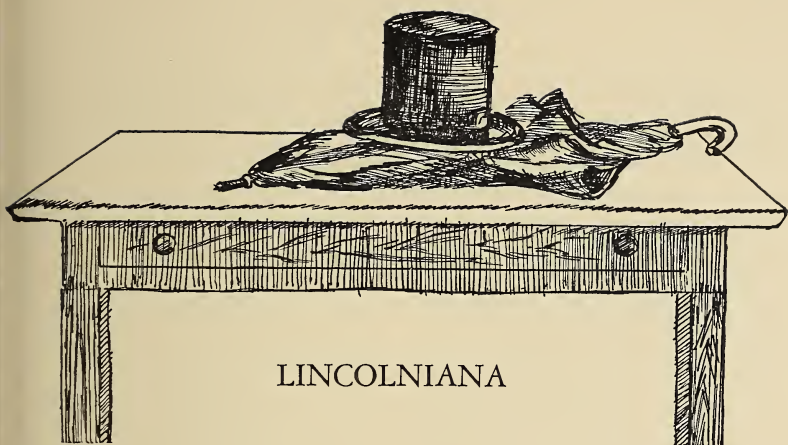
<sup>10</sup> Perhaps not duly emphasized was the fact that the social functions were taken over by the fraternities and sororities. The author's own opinion is that the major function of literary societies from the beginning was social. This was the fraternities' only function and one they were equipped to handle much more completely than the literary societies ever could.



Perhaps the best appreciation of the literary clubs was penned by an unknown staff member of the college yearbook, writing at a time when their eventual downfall could not yet be foreseen. His viewpoint is probably slightly uncritical:

The crowning tribute to the societies is paid by the ability of the hundreds of men and women who are filling the pulpits and the bar, the teaching profession and the lecturing bureau, the men and women who received their instruction in the literary arts in our own society halls.





## LINCOLNIANA

### THE ORIGINAL OF A FEBRUARY 12, 1809 STORY

In the February, 1923, issue of *McClure's Magazine* an article described the birth of Abraham Lincoln as told by Dunham Wright, a grandson of the midwife who served Nancy Hanks. The original manuscript of this article has recently been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. Dunham Wright was a member of the Hanks tribe, a cousin of Lincoln's. His forbears had moved, much as the Lincolns did, from Kentucky to the neighborhood of Decatur, Illinois. Dunham Wright's father, J. D. Wright, served in the Black Hawk War as a sergeant in Captain J. C. Pugh's company from Decatur. The account published below does not tell anything new about the birth of Abraham Lincoln but the language of the original had a quaint frontier directness which *McClure's* editor thought it best to alter. Present-day readers will probably enjoy the account as it appeared in the original manuscript, before publication:

The Lincolns and Hankses moved from Old Virginia to Kentucky, settling in Harden [*sic*] county, building their homes some two miles apart. My grandmother was a midwife, and when it became known there was to be an increase in the Lincoln family her services were engaged and she held herself in readiness. So on the 12th day of February, 1809, very early in the morning, Thomas Lincoln pulled on the latch string to grandfather's cabin door, pushing his head

through slowly, he drawled out these words; "Elizabeth, Nancy has a boy baby over to our house," and immediately hurried back.

Grandmother was preparing the morning meal at the time, and needless to say she got it the short way and was soon stepping off the two miles to the Lincoln home on the hillside. Dennis, her oldest son, was so elated over the affair he cut out and ran over there, barefooted before breakfast.

On reaching the Lincoln cabin and entering the room, she said, "Nancy, how are you?" "Why, I am comfortable," was the reply, and turning the bed covers back, there lay a little naked boy baby, snuggled close up to his mother.

Soon a kettle of water was placed over the fire in the crude old fireplace, and right here, he who in after years proved to be our country's most loved and cherished son, took his first bath, administered by Elizabeth Hall Hanks. Proper and careful attention was given him and his mother. Little slips were put on him for the first time, and the outer one that I have heard grandmother speak of often was of hard spun yarn and the cloth hand wove. It was colored yellow with a kind of coloring called madder. This garment was all wool and a yard long.

Dennis, the little boy that first saw him, was a great pal during the childhood days and they were fast friends during his life. His mother took a great interest in him, teaching him the alphabet and to read and write. He had such an admirable disposition as a child that he attracted the favor and attention of the few he chanced to meet. Yet his craving for books when he got so that he could read, grandfather loaned him a little bible, from which he took his first bible lessons, which moulded that young mind at the proper age for all the things better in after life, and in all his acts he never forgot his early discipline, and the lesson learned from that little bible. With the good advice of his Christain [*sic*] mother that he so much appreciated, and realized its

worth and value to him in after life when he became a statesman [*sic*] caused him to exclaim to a great audience in a public speech, that all that the [*sic*] was and all that he ever expected to be he owed to his angel mother.

I fell heir to this precious [*sic*] little bible at grandfather's death, and as I have read the same lessons and chapters from this book, how I could realize it was about the only comfort afforded him in parting with his dear mother at his tender age in the wilds of Indiana. He could rely on the advice and training of that dear mother and the promises contained in that little book, to comfort and soothe an aching heart. I have wondered if Parson Elkins took his text from that little bible when he preached that mother's funeral.

It was at this Indiana home that he and his little sister gathered leaves from the forest to make themselves a bed.

In Illinois, at my father's home on winter evenings, Abe, as they all called him, would bring in a great armload of hickory bark and lay on the hearth to make a light to read by. As tallow dips, those days, were the only house light, after the evening meal, he would take his seat flat on the floor with his back to the jam, his great long limbs reaching far out into the floor, and there feed the fire with hickory bark for light and read until midnight and after.

He went unto my aunt, Nancy Hanks Miller's home one very cold morning, shivering with the cold. Greeting him, she said, "You are almost froze."

"Yes, I am," he said.

"No wonder, your breeches are all worn out," she exclaimed.

"I know it," he said, "but I have no money to buy more."

"I have enough janes [*sic*] left to make a pair of pants, and if you will cut me wood to pay for them, I will make them for you," she proposed.

"It is a bargain, How much wood shall I cut, seven cords," was Abe's answer to the proposal, and so the bargain was made.

So early the next morning he was off for the timber, six miles away, with lunch basket and an axe, the happiest boy in all Illinois. In three days he had his seven cords of wood cut and a brand new pair of warm janes pants.

He and Uncle John Hanks cut wood, split rails and made flat boats.

In the flat boat they would drift down the Mississippi river to New Orleans, the boat loaded with the produce of their neighbors'. There they would sell the produce and boat and walk back to Illinois, carrying their load of Mexican silver dollars. It would take two men all winter to make one of those wooden scows. All the timbers had to be hewed with a broadaxe, and pinned together with great, strong, wooden pins.

A part of one of their cargoes consisted of a bin of live fat hogs. It proved to be impossible to drive the buggers on the boat. So Lincoln stripped for the job, and began by picking up those big, three-hundred pounders in his arms and toat [*sic*] them on board. His hogship had to yield to Abraham's will, as was the case in all things he undertook.







## BOOK REVIEWS

*Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War.* By Kenneth P. Williams. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1949. 2 vols. Pp. xviii, ix, 902. \$12.50.)

Perhaps the chief distinguishing characteristics of Mr. Williams' book are its reliance upon the official records as a primary source (although other sources are by no means neglected) and the author's effort to appraise the men and events of that period in terms of military conceptions of the present day. Many of his conclusions are surprising; some will evoke controversy; but all of them are well sustained by reason of thorough research and extensive first-hand acquaintance with military matters.

The book's title might suggest that it is primarily concerned with Lincoln and Grant. There is a great deal about Lincoln, to be sure, but Grant comes into the story only at the beginning and the end, when he assumes command of all the Union forces. His own campaigns are treated not at all, inasmuch as the author confines himself to the Eastern theater of the war. He also develops the Union strategy and tactics in greater detail than he devotes to those of Lee and the other Southern generals.

He has only contempt for McClellan. In West Virginia, the author thinks, McClellan planned his campaign skillfully, and his plans succeeded because of good work on the part of his subordinates, whom he immediately disparaged. Taking over the command of the Army of the Potomac, McClellan began to show his faults. He was vain, touchy, arrogant, not even professionally competent, inasmuch as, being an engineer officer, he should at least have been able to appraise terrain for troop movements, although actually he could not. By the time he undertook his Peninsular Campaign, he fully merited the administration's distrust, for his answers to Lincoln's queries, instead of being terse and to the point, were too often long-winded evasions,

excuses, and preachments. Yet, Williams is convinced that Lincoln and Stanton did everything possible to support him, and that his complaints were utterly unjustified.

Courageous when his adversary had withdrawn, McClellan was hesitant and fretful when he showed fight. While begging for more troops, he consistently failed to bring his whole strength to bear in battle. He meddled in political affairs while neglecting the critical duties that faced him in a dangerous predicament. Having learned what to expect of him, Lee frequently resorted to hazardous maneuvers that he would never have attempted against a competent general. McClellan was not even a good organizer or disciplinarian, Williams contends, thus stripping him of those last laurels that even his disparagers have granted him and leaving him in naked disrepute.

Williams rates Pope a good soldier who did what he could with what he had, notwithstanding an early tendency to bombast. McClellan again comes in for criticism for Pope's defeat at Second Bull Run because of his seemingly purposeful failure to supply re-enforcements.

Burnside was indecisive. Hooker made the mistake of withholding his confidence from his subordinates; and the responsibility of command stripped Hooker of his mask of ready confidence and boastfulness and left him "unprepared by previous contemplation and humble self-examination" for the trials he must face. Williams concludes that there is nothing whatever to the assertion that Stanton schemed to replace Hooker and thus thwarted his endeavors. "Fighting Joe" was simply not up to the job.

Halleck comes off better than heretofore. He not only showed supreme patience with his prima donna commanders, but had a good grasp of military problems. He tried hard to bring real victory out of Lee's reverse at Gettysburg, but could not get Meade to move.

As for the Southern generals, both Lee and Jackson appear as something less than the military perfectionists that some writers have represented them to be. Lee never developed a competent staff, and sometimes failed because of this deficiency. Indeed, the Union staff work was far superior to that of the Confederates. In Jackson's Valley Campaign of 1862, Williams sees the Federal commanders as the real heroes, rather than Jackson, for they overcame terrific obstacles of terrain, and except for the intervention of bad weather might well have obliterated Jackson then and there.

Nowhere, from the beginning to the end of the war, does Williams concede any superiority to the Southerner over the Yankee as a fighting man. Citing the number of casualties in proportion to men engaged in battle, he shows that the Northerner often outshot Johnny Reb, notwithstanding the latter's supposed superior familiarity with firearms. It was leadership that the Northern army lacked, and we assume that this deficiency will be sup-

plied when Grant comes forward in the two volumes that are to follow.

Notwithstanding the complicated events and situations with which he deals, Mr. Williams writes with clarity. His pace is swift. He does not lose himself in the documents. He is excellent when dealing with logistics, a phase of warfare that too often receives less attention than it deserves. In an appendix of some thirty pages, which is one of the most interesting features of the book, he gives a fast-moving and sometimes devastating critique of some of the more recent writing on the Civil War, together with observations on particular problems.

*Springfield.*

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

*Steamboats on the Western Rivers.* By Louis C. Hunter. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1949. Pp. 684. Illustrated, \$10.00.)

Published in co-operation with the Social Science Research Council, the American Historical Association, and the American Council of Learned Societies, Professor Hunter's book presents a comprehensive account of the introduction, rise, peak, and decline of the western river steamboat. In sixteen chapters covering as many phases of the epochal century of steamboating in the Mississippi Basin, following the 1811 launching of the first inland river steamboat by the Livingston-Fulton interests, there are 2,093 footnotes, many of them multiple citations, and fifty-one statistical tables.

The initial chapters of the book deal with the structural and mechanical development and the techniques of operation of the western river steamboat, a vessel unique in the history of transportation. The organization of steamboat transportation, the inevitable and widely publicized accidents, government regulations, and steamboat travel where mid-Victorian luxury of cabin passage was separated by less than an inch of flooring from the squalor of deck passage, are factors of the economic and social scene which Professor Hunter depicts with the discernment of an economic historian.

The author refers to the decade preceding the Civil War as the "critical age," as opposed to the more popular designation, the "golden age" of steamboating. In this period steamboating attained maturity, but the organization and operation of steamboat business remained one of small scale, individual enterprise. Competition within the industry was of greater concern to steamboat interests in the 1850's than the invasion of the Midwest by the railroad or the rapidly developing towing business, both of which were to become major factors in the steamboat's final struggle for existence.

The outbreak of the Civil War plunged all business, including steamboating, into a temporary depression. But the conscription of a number of steamboats for troop movements in August, 1861, initiated a system of

ogistics unprecedented in the annals of warfare. Professor Hunter presents some heretofore obscure data relative to the government's leasing, chartering, and building a river navy which at one time or another numbered 640 flat-bottom, paddle-wheel steamboats.

The renaissance of steamboating following the Civil War produced the largest, the fastest, and the finest steamboats the western rivers had ever borne. But the railroad was rapidly filling in a network of inter-valley communication, independent of the rivers and unaffected by seasonal variations. The age of big business was at hand, and the one remaining hope for the future of steamboating was a co-ordination of rail and river transportation. Steamboat interests lacked the organization to effect such an alliance. The pioneering period of mid-continent United States, in which the wheels of progress for half a century had literally been the paddle-wheels of the great white fleet, had all but passed, by the turn of the century, and the steamboat was no longer an important economic implement.

Scholars and historians of the West and of American economic history, as well as informed amateurs in these fields, will find Professor Hunter's book invaluable.

*University of Illinois.*

C. E. PALMER.

*Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826-1866.* By William H. Dillistin. (American Numismatic Society: New York, 1949. Pp. 175 plus plates of notes and signatures. \$3.50.)

There has been written as much if not more on the subject of counterfeiting than on most subjects one could mention. This criminal trade has been carried on in every country in the world and has caused millions upon millions of dollars in losses to millions of unsuspecting victims. During the fiscal year 1945-1946 counterfeit bills to the amount of \$65,419 were found and fifty persons were arrested for fraudulently passing them. A year later, 1947-1948, counterfeit bills and coins totaling \$3,094,230 were confiscated and the consequent arrests amounted to 158. In view of this increase incredulous readers may profit by a study of *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826-1866* by William H. Dillistin.

Bad as the present situation seems the author points out that counterfeiting flourished much more flagrantly a century ago. During 1826-1866 there seem to have been at least 10,000 people in this nefarious business. Those were the years of America's growing pains and confusion must have reigned in banking quarters with everyone suspicious of the currency—especially paper money.

One might wonder why a work written on the years 1826-1866 would



be of interest to readers now. The answer, of course, is quite simple. A great many notes of that early day have been preserved and they are sought after by collectors. Some of them are genuine and others are counterfeit. Since there are so many numismatists, as well as libraries and museums that preserve samples of early currency, this book is a "must" for every collector.  
*Springfield.* WILLIAM A. STEIGER.

*The Lincoln Encyclopedia: The Spoken and Written Words of A. Lincoln, Arranged for Ready Reference.* Compiled and edited by Archer H. Shaw. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1950. Pp. 395. \$6.50.)

"Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasures of the earth—our own excepted—in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years." When did Lincoln say that? Here is a book that will tell you.

For many years there has been a demand for a Lincoln concordance. Now anyone who wants to know what Lincoln has said on agriculture, or colonization, emancipation, labor as a class, self-government, and a hundred other topics needs only look in this book. Some principles like the Dred Scott decision and slavery were the basic issues of Lincoln's political career. On such subjects the compiler has selected a dozen or more of Lincoln's pronouncements and it is interesting to notice the Emancipator's mental development through the years. It is worth noting, too, that few public men have been as consistent with their spoken words as Abraham Lincoln was from the beginning to the end of his life.

Archer Shaw has found a place in his book for Lincoln whimsies as well as for profundities. Do you know what similarity Lincoln saw between blackberries and major generals? If not, see page 23. And when, can you tell, did Lincoln say, "With educated people, I suppose, punctuation is a matter of rule; with me it is a matter of feeling. But I must say I have a great respect for the semicolon; it's a useful little chap."?

J. M.

*The Ohio.* By R. E. Banta. (Rinehart & Company: New York, 1949. Pp. 592. \$5.00.)

Of the bodies of water that border Illinois on three sides the Ohio is the most troublesome. It was also the most useful for immigrants to the Prairie State before the opening of the Erie Canal. Mr. Banta has a lifetime

acquaintance with the Ohio and he traces its history from geological and archaeological times. He discusses the contest for the Ohio Valley between Britain and France. Then Virginia, represented by George Rogers Clark, marched into the scene with 175 adventurers. The American period proper begins with the appointment of Arthur St. Clair as governor of the Northwest Territory. Blood and intrigue darken the next twenty-five years.

After the War of 1812 a real migration commenced down the river, the age of the ring-tailed snorters, and author Banta describes these gentry with relish. A chapter on John Fitch and his steamboat ushers in accounts told by the elegant travelers who floated along from the 1830's to the Civil War. Among them was Charles Dickens with his uncomplimentary remarks about Cairo, Illinois.

*The Ohio* is social history at its best, and political and economic angles also cut through the text. The valley's salt, coal, lumber, livestock, and farm products are all considered as well as the lush growth of industry. Illinois has only a few towns along the Ohio. The author cites them all and does not overlook the tavern in Shawneetown known as PEARL'S HARBOR.

J. M.

*The New Stars: Life and Labor in Old Missouri.* By Manie Morgan, as arranged by Jennie A. Morgan, edited with an introduction by Louis Filler. (The Antioch Press: Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1949. Pp. xviii, 301. \$3.75.)

This is a girl's eye view of life in a Missouri slave-owning family in the 1850's and 1860's, a story told to and written out by her daughter, Jennie Morgan, when the narrator was eighty-eight. To refresh her memory on incidents and dates there were letters, diaries, and other family records. In her old age, Manie Morgan read *Gone With the Wind* many times and sought to portray for the border states Missouri and Kentucky what that story did for life in the lower South. Although she was no Margaret Mitchell, her book has interest as a personal record and value as a picture of master and slave, and also of nonslaveowners, in a critical area and period.

The editor gives a just evaluation of the range and limits of Manie Morgan's account of life and labor in antebellum Missouri:

It is not, of course, for her political acumen that Manie Morgan demands attention. She was a child, whose range of interests were largely confined to things feminine, personal, and immediate. Yet the fact that her moral and intellectual assumptions were sharply defined and fixed gave her a firm base from which to absorb impressions. Added to this was an inexhaustible interest in the minutiae of her environment and her desire to fit them into pattern. What results from her studies is a notably clear and full record

of life as she experienced it in the late 1850's and during war, unblurred by conjectures and rationalizations. . . . Her recollections, though written at the age of eighty-eight, are not the product of a long review of experience, nor yet the reflections of a child's perspective. They stem from the literal, unquestioning viewpoint of the Kendley-Morgan-Smith and related clans, whose way of living she upheld and adorned.

And yet Manie was one of the "new stars," member of the new generation who took up the work of building a postwar society, economic and social, on the ruins of the old aristocratic Southern traditions. She escaped her mother's determination to marry her into a "good family" and eloped with a Yankee captain. Her portrait of her mother, Mary Jane Kendley, a matriarch "who trusted God but liked formalities," who worked early and late in supervision of household and estate to save money to send her daughters to finishing school, who maintained strict surveillance over their manners and associations in the effort to make them "ladies," is, nevertheless, one of the clearest and strongest features of Manie's recollections. Although she avoided marrying Alfonso Bowen, her mother's choice, she did not escape her dominant spirit.

Here is also the story of life in the Big House (yet not so grand as those of relatives in Kentucky), of Aunt Lucy and her large family (the only slaves owned by the Kendleys), of the round of activities in home and on farm from season to season, of school days, parties, and picnics, and finally of civil strife in a border state and in a county (Buchanan) just over the line from "Bleeding Kansas." There are, for full measure, interesting family anecdotes of meeting Lincoln and Whitman.

*Illinois State Historical Library.*

MARY WATTERS.

*Guide to the Burlington Archives in the Newberry Library, 1851-1901.* Compiled by Elisabeth Coleman Jackson and Carolyn Curtis. (The Newberry Library: Chicago, 1949. Pp. 374.)

When the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company deposited its nineteenth century papers with the Newberry Library in 1943 it was the first major corporation to make its records available to historians. This collection amounts to fifteen tons and consists of more than a million letters, 1,500 bundles of miscellaneous materials, and some 2,000 bound volumes of ledgers, accounts, and operating books. The *Guide* catalogues this mass of papers, with a brief note on each entry so that the historian can find what he wants in a minimum of time. In addition to the listing there is a complete index which will make the search even simpler. Before this *Guide* was published, Librarian Stanley Pargellis reports, twelve books, based wholly or in

part on these files, had been or were being written. There will probably be several times that many more now that the *Guide* has been compiled. Incidentally, it is available to historians upon application to Mr. Pargellis.

H. F. R.

*Railroads of Today.* By S. Kip Farrington, Jr. (Coward-McCann, Inc.: New York, 1949. Pp. 306. \$5.00.)

Since World War II American railroads have spent many, many millions to make passenger travel faster and more pleasant, and to move freight more efficiently. They have bought Diesel locomotives, new coaches, and sleepers. They have dug tunnels, straightened curves, built bridges, leveled grades, and installed new safety devices. Whether these improvements brought increased business or vice versa the figures show that the ton-miles of freight carried in 1948 were 92 per cent above the totals for 1939 and passenger traffic was 18 per cent greater.

That, briefly, is the story in *Railroads of Today*. Author Farrington takes one road at a time and tells how much it spent and what it got for its money. For instance, the New York Central allotted \$69 millions to new freight cars, \$62 millions to passenger cars, \$45 millions for Diesel locomotives, \$50 millions for track and structures, and \$6 millions for steam locomotives. The beauty and luxury of Central's new Century trains bring ecstatic praise from the writer. Among its other improvements Central blasted a new bed out of solid rock for the Mohawk River to straighten a curve and eliminate a traffic bottleneck. Then there are its modernizing innovations, including an auto-rail plan which provides a car for business or pleasure at the end of the train ride, and the use of installment payments for tickets.

This is what one road has been doing. Others have similar stories—with slight variations depending on the road's needs. It was not possible for the book to include all railroad lines and as a result the East seems to have fared better in the listings than the Midwest or West. This shortcoming, however, is more than compensated for by a generous use of pictures—well over a hundred of them.

H. F. R.

*The Lovejoy Shrine. The Lovejoy Station on the Underground Railroad.* By George Owen Smith. (Printed by the *Bureau County Tribune*, Princeton, Illinois, 1949. Pp. 36.)

Owen Lovejoy was perhaps Illinois' outstanding abolitionist—an ardent fighter for the cause of liberty. His home was one of the most active stations on the Underground Railroad. To its shelter came unnumbered fugitives



who were helped to freedom. Clergyman, congressman, humanitarian, Lovejoy did what he thought was morally right. In Congress he said:

No human being, black or white, bond or free, native or foreign, infidel or Christian, ever came to my door and asked for food and shelter, in the name of a common humanity, or a pitying Christ, who did not receive it. This I have done. This I mean to do as long as God lets me live.

Because of the innate "rightness" of his conduct, the name and fame of Owen Lovejoy do not fade.

All who intend to visit the Lovejoy house in Princeton should read this booklet which is attractively printed and well illustrated. Members of the Illinois State Historical Society who have John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses*, may also read there an account of this underground station and its occupant.

S. A. W.

*Auntie Kate: Her Journey Through Ninety Years.* By Katharine Garford Thomas. (Ohio History Press: Columbus, 1949. Pp. 252. \$3.50.)

Auntie Kate was ninety-three when she died in May, 1932. She had had a long and abundant life—and one richly blessed. But to be loved one must love, and in this was the abundance of her life. Her thoughtfulness of others is revealed in her reminiscences and her many letters.

The reminiscences of Auntie Kate are transcribed tenderly and sympathetically by her grandniece, Katharine Garford Thomas, and are interspersed with excerpts from diaries and letters.

As her life spanned nearly a century, it also spanned a continent. Katharine Moody was born in Willoughby, Ohio, on December 25, 1838. Her father returned to Massachusetts about five years later. This state was her home until the death of her sister, Mary Nelson, in Elyria, Ohio, in 1863. Kate went to be of help and stayed to care for the Nelson children. In 1871 she married William Smith, a widower with five children, and presented him with six more during the first ten years of their marriage. From 1888 to 1895 she was a pioneer in Washington Territory, but returned to Elyria to spend the rest of her life.

The famous will always have their biographies, but the stories of the less great, by worldly standards, may have a charm, like *Auntie Kate* that adds much to the picture of the past.

S. A. W.





## NEWS AND COMMENT

### ILLINOIS' COVERED BRIDGES

The picturesque bridge on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is known as the Conkeytown Bridge—across Salt Fork about two miles south of Muncie, in Vermilion County just west of Danville. This bridge was constructed probably about 1865. The picture was taken in 1940, and the bridge was one of eighteen still standing in the state in 1949 according to a "covered bridge census" taken by the Illinois Division of Highways.

In recent years the American Covered Bridge Historical Society, various state organizations, and a large number of interested individuals have rallied to the cause of these old wooden bridges. They have compiled photographic, statistical, and historical records of those still standing and have sought to preserve many that would otherwise have been destroyed or abandoned. The story of the bridges is being recorded in a national publication, "Covered Bridge Topics," a mimeographed quarterly ranging in size from four to eighteen pages.

The national "census" figures show that Ohio is the champion covered-bridge state with some 500, or about a third of all in the United States. Pennsylvania is second with some 450, and Oregon is third with more than 250—unusual as it may seem since most of the bridges are located east of Illinois. Indiana has nearly 200 and Vermont approximately 150. Several other states in the northeastern quarter of the country have as many as 40 or 50, but Wisconsin, New Jersey, and Arkansas claim only one each. Two of the Illinois bridges have been rehabilitated by the state—one crosses Little Mary's River near Chester and the second crosses Henderson Creek near Squawka. The others may be found in eleven widely scattered counties.

The first half of the nineteenth century was the heyday of the covered bridge and some of them were in use for more than a hundred years. Built

entirely of wood, even to the pins that held them together,—and generally hand-hewn—covered bridges sometimes had spans more than 300 feet in length. They were enclosed with sides and roof to keep rain and snow off the timbers and thus add an estimated twenty to forty years to the life of the structure. Among the reasons sometimes erroneously given for covering them were that the cover prevented horses from shying at the running water below, and cattle that wouldn't cross an open bridge would enter one that looked like a barn.

#### OLIVER R. BARRETT

Oliver R. Barrett, Chicago attorney, former president of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, and owner of one of the largest collections of Lincoliana in the nation, died at his home in Kenilworth, Illinois, on March 5. An article about him is being written by Irving Dilliard for the Autumn issue of this *Journal*.

#### EIGHT GREAT AMERICANS

The State Department is publishing the lives of famous Americans for distribution to foreign countries. Some of these publications are in such obscure languages as Viet-Nameese and Indonesian. It is reported that the Army plans to distribute the illustrated pamphlets in Siamese, Korean, and Japanese, also. *Journal* readers will be interested to know that the eight great Americans selected for the studies in these booklets are George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Walt Whitman, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Carnegie, George Washington Carver, Jane Addams, and Thomas A. Edison.

#### LINCOLN CALENDAR SERIES

The Chicago & Illinois Midland Railway Company's calendar series has been devoted to the Lincoln theme since 1930. Noted artists have been engaged for the illustrations which have, for the most part, been concerned with young Lincoln and his New Salem background. The first fourteen were painted by Fletcher C. Ransom, who died in 1944. Then, Lane K. Newberry took over the work. The last three were painted by Reynolds Jones.

The series was begun by W. C. Hurst and continued by his successor Fred L. Schrader, president of the C. & I. M. This railroad serves the heart of the Lincoln country; it runs through Petersburg and Menard County. Mr. Schrader, a Lincoln student himself, plans to continue the calendars indefinitely. Appended to each has been a brief explanatory text supplied by Paul M. Angle or Jay Monaghan. These paintings provide a colorful panorama of New Salem history and were exhibited last year at the Chicago Historical Society.

In the death, on November 30, 1949, of Lindolph O. Trigg, founder, editor, and publisher of the *Eldorado Daily Journal*, the state of Illinois and particularly that section known as "Egypt" have lost a valiant servant.

"Salesman for the Illinois Ozarks, but not in the real estate business," L. O. Trigg was probably the best informed person on the attractions of all southern Illinois. The annual tours of the Illinois Ozarks with "Colonel" Trigg himself as guide had become a tradition. He was inspired by the beauty of this section and determined to publicize it. His efforts have not been in vain.

Always interested in history, Mr. Trigg had been a member of the Illinois State Historical Society since 1931. He was a charter member of the Saline County Historical Society and a charter and life member of the Southern Illinois Historical Society, to name only a few of the many historical and scientific organizations to which he belonged and in whose programs he participated. His passing will be mourned by all who knew and loved him.



Museums or historical organizations which would like any of the items from the "Merci Train" for exhibition or permanent preservation may apply to the editor of this *Journal*, who is a member of the committee appointed for their disposal.



Our Spring issue recorded the death on November 9, 1949, of Chicago's last Civil War veteran, Captain Thomas Ambrose. On March 14, Louis Fablinger joined the great host of "boys in blue" who had preceded him. Last of Illinois' veterans of the Civil War and Commander of the Illinois Department of the Grand Army of the Republic, Louis Fablinger was 103 years old. As Governor Stevenson commented:

His death thus severs the last mortal link between this eventful era, which so decisively shaped the course of American history, and our own times. All Illinois is saddened by the news of his passing, but our people will never forget the historic role that he and his comrades played in the perpetuation of the federal union.



Edgar Lee Masters, poet, lawyer, and Lincoln student, died on March 5, 1950. He was buried in Oakland Cemetery near Petersburg—the cemetery



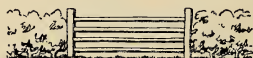
that inspired his most famous work, *Spoon River Anthology*. Beside him in death are the graves of his grandparents who went to Petersburg and vicinity in the days of Abraham Lincoln. Near by in the cemetery is the grave of Ann Rutledge.



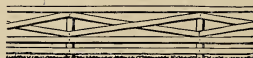
A plaque honoring William Grant Edens was dedicated in Chicago last October, and the seventeen-mile stretch of six-lane super highway now under construction through a traffic-congested Chicago area was named for him. This plaque was embedded in the handrail of the overpass on Cicero Avenue, just north of Foster Avenue.

Colonel Edens, a member of the Illinois State Historical Society for many, many years, has been called the father of the good roads movement in Illinois. For thirty-seven years he was president of the Illinois Highway Improvement Association. Not only Illinois but the entire nation has benefited from improved roads because of his zealous efforts in their behalf.

At the dedicatory ceremonies Richard J. Finnegan, editor and executive vice-president of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, delivered the principal address, and Colonel Edens, himself, spoke briefly. On November 27, the "Theatre Guild on the Air" honored Colonel Edens, who on that day celebrated his eighty-sixth birthday. Colonel Edens gives great credit to the women for good roads: The "mud and muck and mire and bumps interfered with their social pleasures. . . . It was the women who fought for paved roads—and got them."



A memorial to Father Jacques Marquette will be erected at Utica this summer by the Illinois Valley Knights of Columbus. On the plain south of Utica, Father Marquette, on April 11, 1675, chanted the first parochial mass in what is now Illinois.

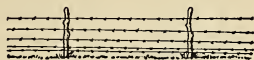


The Alton Area Historical Society heard the Rev. R. R. Trickey talk on "Washington and His Times," at its February meeting. Edgar L. Whyte reviewed *Lincoln the Unknown*, by Dale Carnegie.

In March, O. C. K. Hutchinson spoke on "Birds of Today and Yesterday." Plans were discussed for entertaining the Illinois State Historical Society at its May meeting.

Mrs. Frank J. Stobbs, president of the Alton Area Historical Society, named a committee to make preliminary arrangements.

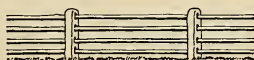
Gardens in the Alton area were the subject of the April meeting. Speakers included Amasa B. Davis, his sister, Ella B. Davis, and Mrs. Henry Kranz.



A new project has been instituted by Hugh Parker, a member of the Aurora Historical Museum's board of directors. Mr. Parker is recording the voices of persons at the museum as they tell stories of Aurora history and describe museum exhibits. In the first of these wire recordings, Mrs. Alice Applegate, curator, and Miss Bess Lockhart, museum secretary, explain the exhibits to girls of a local Brownie troop.

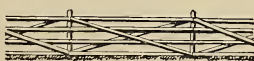


Cachets commemorating the centennial of Bloomington's incorporation as a city were mailed from the Bloomington post office on February 19. A special centennial sticker has been created by Maynard Upton, and the city will observe October 1 to 7 as its centennial week.



Four talks on the art of collecting were given this past winter at the Chicago Historical Society. Paul M. Angle opened the series on January 25, with an address on "Collectors and Collecting." On February 15, Colton Storm spoke on "Bibliographical Aids for the Collector." Forest H. Sweet talked on "The Collector and the Dealer," on March 8, and Harold Tribolet completed the series with a lecture on March 29. His topic was "The Care, Preservation, and Restoration of Manuscripts."

On April 18, a post-Easter display of memorable and beautiful hats and gowns went on public exhibit. At the April meeting, Society members heard E. Jan Bark speak on hats of the past, present, and future.



The Chicago Lawn Historical Society held open house on April 23, at the Chicago Lawn Library. Exhibits of antiques and slides and motion pictures of the community's history were among the many attractions provided

by Mrs. Florence Richards, the librarian, and her staff. The Society was founded twelve years ago by Mrs. Richards and now has more than 500 members. Richard O. Helwig is president.



The history and development of the Chicago Sanitary Canal was the subject of a talk by J. M. Mercer on April 19, before the spring meeting of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society. The Society also planned an all-day boat trip down the canal for June.



Frank F. Marple talked on Lincoln at the February meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). Mrs. Minnie Moreland Dow also gave a short sketch entitled "The Story of a Harmonica."

The Historical Society and the Associated Clubs of Woodlawn honored the memory of Julia A. Baker on April 17, by dedicating the auditorium of the Woodlawn Regional Library to her. Mrs. Netta B. Goss, president of the Historical Society, presided, and the dedicatory address was given by Robert L. Young, president of the Associated Clubs.



The DuPage County Historical Society conducted an essay contest recently for all high school students in the county. First prize went to Frederick S. Weiser, of Glen Ellyn; second prize to Jim Johnson, of Hinsdale. Lucille Eddy and Edna Koller, both of Villa Park, tied for third place.



The Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society in February exhibited microfilms of the *Edwardsville Democrat* published in 1883. The films were shown by F. Ritchie Gibbons and Joseph Cronin with a commentary by Julian Vallette. Mrs. Eugene Schmidt, president of the Society, presided.

Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, of Alton, were guests of the Chapter in March. At that meeting the first ordinances of the city of Edwardsville were read and discussed. These had been adopted September 23, 1872, under John A. Picket, the first mayor. At the same meeting, Mrs. Ira O. West read and

commented on a letter written by Abraham Lincoln to Joseph Gillespie, of Edwardsville.

Officers of the Society for the year 1950 are: The Rev. A. F. Ludwig, president; Mrs. W. H. Morgan, vice-president; Mrs. Julian Vallette, secretary; Mrs. David Fiegenbaum, treasurer; and Mrs. Virgil Mindrup, historian. Board members include: Mrs. Eugene Schmidt, Mrs. Ann Funke, and Julian Vallette.



An odd relic has been added to the museum of the Evanston Historical Society—a balloon-man's horn. This particular horn, brought from Belgium, belonged to Frank Polleunis—Evanston's "balloon man" for almost fifty years. Polleunis died on February 10, 1949. Exhibited with the horn is a color photograph of Polleunis and his balloons. William C. Evans arranged the exhibit.

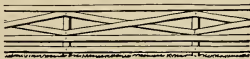
The Society enjoyed another of its talks by "old-time Evanstonians" in February, with Fred W. Smith telling about "Personal Recollections of Earlier Evanston."



The Galena Historical Documents Association has received from Mrs. Celia Avery and her daughter Mary Avery Browning many manuscripts and memorabilia of Galena during the last century.



Mrs. Esther Eckland Benson read a paper on the Geneva glucose factory explosion and fire at the midwinter meeting in February of the Geneva Historical Society. "Geneva in 1900" was Alice Bailey's subject, and Alice Swarthout read an account of the burning of the old courthouse. Dr. Charles Lyttle presided with a gavel said to have been made from Geneva's first house.



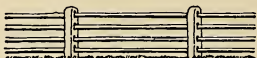
A program of folk songs and ballads was given by Barbara Ellen Rogers at the January 30 meeting of the Glencoe Historical Society. Miss Rogers sang to her own guitar accompaniment. Color pictures were shown of Illinois state parks. Mrs. James K. Calhoun was the program chairman.



Under the leadership of its president, Harry L. Hough, the Grundy County Historical Society is conducting a campaign to raise \$1,000 to adapt a room in the courthouse at Morris into a museum. Articles of historical interest are wanted for display.



Clifford Fore addressed the Jefferson County Historical Society in March. His topic was "The History and Development of Water Works in Mt. Vernon."



The Board of Supervisors in March approved placing a bronze plaque in front of the courthouse at Geneva honoring Kane County's Civil War veterans. On the plaque is to be inscribed the name of the late Colonel John S. Dumser, of Elgin, who is believed to have been the county's last surviving veteran of the Civil War. Colonel Dumser died last December.



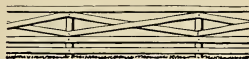
Byron Sirois has been initiating grade school groups in Kankakee to study the mysteries of Indian lore. The Kankakee Historical Society is promoting a junior historian movement, and the purpose of Sirois' talks was to interest the youngsters in studying the Indians of the Kankakee area.

Twenty-five grade school teachers toured the Society's museum on March 31, under the leadership of President Ralph Francis, who emphasized the importance of local history and urged the formation of junior historian groups.



Officers of the McLean County Historical Society were all re-elected as follows: Wayne C. Townley, president; W. W. Wallis, first vice-president; Mrs. Kate Orendorff, second vice-president; Dr. D. D. Raber, third vice-president; John W. Moore, secretary; Louis L. Williams, treasurer; the Rev. E. E. Atherton, chaplain; and Mrs. Margaret Hoffman, librarian. Re-elected to the board of directors are: Campbell Holton, Harold Liston, Elias Roiley, Lyman Tay, Thomas Williams, Carl Vrooman, and Deane Funk. This is the fifteenth term for President Townley.

Wilbur H. Duncan spoke on "The History of Company A in World War I" at the March meeting of the Macon County Historical Society. Decatur National Guard Company L was absorbed into Company A when the United States entered the first World War. Frank Sawyer is president of the group.



The Madison County Historical Society held its semi-annual meeting Sunday, April 30, at Godfrey in the Benjamin Godfrey Memorial Chapel. Principal speakers were: Dr. John R. Young, on the topic "Facts Concerning Monticello College," and B. G. Waggoner, on "Facts Concerning the History of the Godfrey Community and Its People." Musical selections were furnished by Monticello College. Donald Lewis, president of the Society, presided.

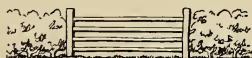


Officers of the Mattoon Historical Society are: Dr. Horace Batchelor, president; R. Harvey Wright, vice-president; Mrs. J. H. Glover, secretary; and Earl P. Robertson, treasurer. The Society has voted to affiliate with the Illinois State Historical Society.



The Morgan County Historical Society again has offered prizes to high school students for historical essays. The first prize is \$5.00; the second, \$2.50. Similar prizes were awarded to seventh and eighth grade students.

John H. Hauberg spoke to the Society at its dinner meeting on April 25 to commemorate the one hundred and twenty-fifth birthday of Jacksonville. Mr. Hauberg showed a motion picture which he called "God's Own Country."

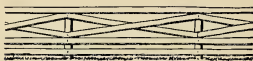


An eyewitness account of the opening of the long-sealed Robert Todd Lincoln collection in the Library of Congress was given by Jay Monaghan at the February meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. Mr. Monaghan also read excerpts from several dozen letters—some bitterly criticizing the Civil War President.

Horace H. Payton, Jr., told members in April about the demonstrations against Lincoln in Peoria by the "Sons of Liberty" in 1864. The mayor of

Peoria, himself, was a Confederate sympathizer, according to Payton. A torchlight parade and mass meetings protested continuance of the war.

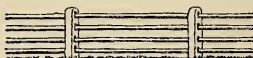
In March, the Society watched a motion picture, "Born in the West," depicting the history of the Caterpillar Tractor Company. George E. Johnson, president of the Society, appointed a committee of five to help organize a pageant to celebrate the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Peoria County. This committee consisted of Philip Becker, Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, E. C. Bessler, Ray Brons, and Clarence Myers. The tentative dates for the pageant, to be held at the Exposition Gardens in Peoria, are July 1-4, 1950.



The Saline County Historical Society at its February meeting in Harrisburg heard Mrs. J. Ward Barnes lecture on "Knights of the Golden Circle in Saline County." Ernest V. Gates, president of the Society, appointed a program committee consisting of William H. Farley, Mrs. Scerial Thompson, and Mrs. D. L. Shain.

In March Mrs. Shain talked on "'Baron' Henry William Stiegel, the Gay Glass Maker." Mrs. Shain also displayed her own collection of antique glassware.

Judge R. Gerald Trampe, of Golconda, spoke in April. He told the story of early days in Golconda and gave interesting side lights on his forthcoming book, *The History of Pope County*. Mrs. R. C. Davenport also discussed early American glass bottle making and showed a collection of ancient bottles lent by Delmar Barter.



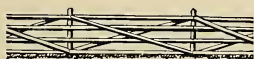
The Swedish Pioneer Centennial Association, Rock Island, has changed its name and been incorporated as the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society.



At the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford on March 19, Gunnar Turesson, of Sweden, sang, accompanying himself on the *lutan*, an old Swedish instrument. Dr. Nils William Olsson recounted his experiences in Sweden during a visit of six months there last year.

The Society entertained the Swedish Ambassador to the United States, Erik Boheman, Mrs. Boheman, and Gösta Oldenburg, Swedish consul general

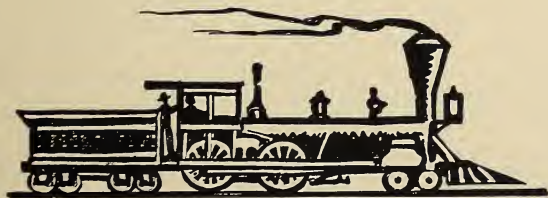
in Chicago, on March 31. At the banquet in Faust Hotel, Rockford, Ambassador Boheman, acting directly for King Gustaf of Sweden, presented the ribbon and insignia of the Royal Order of Vasa, first class, to Swan Hillman, Herman G. Nelson, and Nils F. Testor, all of Rockford.



C. C. Burford addressed the Vermilion County Historical Society in March. His subject was "The Why and Wherefore of Vermilion County." Joseph H. Barnhart is president of the group.



Western Springs is considering the formation of a historical society. Residents of the town for forty years or more are urged to register at the Village Hall, or mail a card to Mrs. F. E. Reeve, Edith Williams, or Mrs. Wilbur C. Anderson.





# ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Send the names of prospective members to the Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois and this card of invitation will be mailed; or request a supply of these cards for mailing or handing to friends you wish to invite to join:

THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS  
of the  
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

cordially invite you to join

. . . with them and almost 5,000 other citizens of our nation to further interest in and knowledge of the glorious history of our great State. The first historical society of Illinois was formed in 1827. In 1843 a "State Historical Society" was organized for the purpose of "collecting, preserving and diffusing information relating to the history of Illinois."

From these early beginnings has now arisen our great Illinois State Historical Library, nationally respected depository of Lincolniana, Civil War material and many invaluable manuscripts, documents, pamphlets, books, etc., dealing with the founding and development of our Nation, the Northwest Territory and the Illinois country.

Illinois State Historical Society  
Centennial Building  
Springfield, Illinois

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I hereby request that I be enrolled as a member of the Illinois State Historical Society. I agree to pay annual dues of \$2.00 (Life Membership \$50.00), but reserve the right to terminate my membership on written notice.

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Please attach your check and mail to the secretary.

NOTE: All members receive the publications of the Society without charge and are welcome to attend all meetings, including the annual meeting and banquet each fall, and historical tour and meeting each spring.

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INDIAN SUMMER SCENE

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

AUTUMN 1950

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The Illinois State Historical Society is a department of the State Historical Library. The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, disseminate the story of the state and its citizens, and encourage historical research. An annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society tours some historic neighborhood. Membership is open to all. Dues are \$2.00 a year, or \$50 for Life Membership.

Members receive the publications of the Library, which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. These publications are the *Journal*, a quarterly magazine devoted to Illinois history, and occasional books and pamphlets on historical subjects.

Manuscripts submitted for publication should be addressed to J. Monaghan, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois.

The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by authors of articles published.

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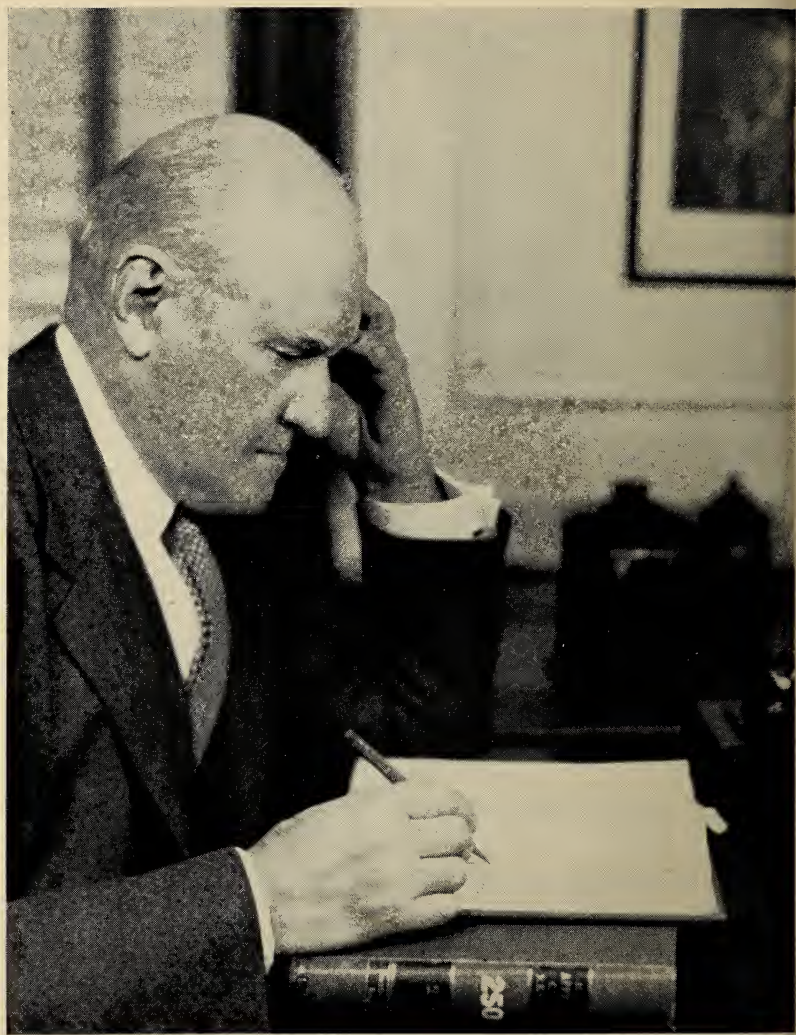
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Clara R. Davis H.

# OLIVER ROGERS BARRETT

1873—1950

BY IRVING DILLIARD

WHEN, after more than a quarter century's work, Carl Sandburg completed his monumental six-volume life of Lincoln—*The Prairie Years* and *The War Years*—he drew up a list of "the constant companions on a long journey."

To these close comrades of the trail, the people's poet dedicated his great prose achievement. And which of them he would put in first place never could have been much in doubt. At the top of the dedicatory page he wrote: "To the attorney-at-law, collector of documents and source items in history, seeker of basic human lore, Oliver R. Barrett."

And no wonder! Neither of them had kept track and no one else would have believed the hours they had managed to spend together in two busy, crowded, dissimilar lives. Early in their friendship they found that one way was to walk side-by-side at night and talk the minutes and miles away. Carl would drop in at Oliver's law office in the Chicago Loop and they would matter-of-factly set out to pace off the twenty miles to the Barrett home at 623 Abbotsford Road in Kenilworth. Or

*Irving Dilliard will be familiar to most readers of this Journal as a director and former president of the Illinois State Historical Society. Also he was a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library during the period from 1938 to 1945, when Oliver R. Barrett was president of the board. He is editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and a contributor to the standard dictionaries of biography and history and to leading magazines.*

the ballad singer would be a guest under the lawyer's hospitable suburban roof and in the middle of the night host and visitor would decide to get up and walk to Chicago, timed so as to arrive with the dawn.

On these walks Oliver and Carl would adopt any stray dogs which happened along their way. When they stopped en route for a nocturnal lunch, the chance canine companions of the journey were unexpectedly fêted to meals at the restaurants where the striding conversationalists fed themselves. It was the least they could do for these passing four-footed friends of the streets, since, on such a walk, one inquisitive mongrel had nosed up a roll of greenbacks for them.

Oliver Barrett's death, March 5, 1950, closed the life of the foremost of private Lincoln collectors and the respected past president of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. Under Barrett's presidency, and due in large part to his informed guidance, the collection of Lincoln manuscripts and other possessions of the people of Illinois at the Historical Library in Springfield grew to be one of the most important historical centers in the nation. All Illinoisans, and particularly members of the Illinois State Historical Society, owe him a debt of gratitude. As this is written, a statewide plan is taking form for the anticipated purchase of the Barrett Lincoln collection for preservation for posterity in Springfield. This effort promises to provide a permanent memorial to the tall, spare collector in the distinguished library over which he officially presided from 1938 to 1945.

Oliver Barrett was descended from Revolutionary ancestors on both his father's and his mother's sides. George Johnson Barrett, his father, was born in 1818, in Washington County, New York. He was taken as a baby by his parents to Ohio the same year. When he was only seven months old, his father died in the new home near Sandusky. In 1837, George Johnson Barrett followed the westward migration to Morgan County, Illinois, where he became a circuit-riding Methodist

preacher. This clergyman was married twice, and the future greatest of private Lincoln collectors was his father's thirteenth child.

Although the itinerant clergyman's home had its heavy pressures, the family circle was conducive to the shaping of bright and able young citizens. The father was a reader and by the tests of the times a well-educated man. The mother had attended Monticello Female Seminary, pioneer school for girls, which Captain Benjamin Godfrey had founded north of Alton.

After serving for a year as a Methodist missionary to the Chippewa Indians, Oliver's father became the junior preacher on the Jacksonville circuit in 1837. Methodist ministers did a great deal of moving about in those days and in his active ministry the Rev. Mr. Barrett served at least fourteen charges, including some of the most historic communities in central Illinois: Concord, Petersburg, Alton, Vandalia, Beardstown, Summer Hill, Paris, Carrollton, Marshall, Taylorville, Pana, Butler, Bluff Springs, and Jacksonville (Brooklyn Church).

It is told in the family that, while preaching at Petersburg, Oliver's father met Lincoln when the prairie lawyer was on his way to the duelling ground on the Mississippi near Alton, after the challenge from James Shields. Early in his career the clergyman became an ardent opponent of slavery, and after the Civil War he took an active part in the Freedman's Aid Society. In 1872 he went to Europe on the steamer *Oceania* and for three months toured England and the continent, telling about his organization's work in the South.

George Barrett's influence on his son Oliver, however, was destined to be indirect. The father was already fifty-five years old when his last child was born on October 14, 1873. And before Oliver was four his father was dead. It was in Pittsfield, where the Widow Barrett took her children to live, that the boy's interest in Lincoln, to use the words of Carl Sandburg in *Lincoln Collector: The Story of Oliver R. Bar-*



*rett's Great Private Collection* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), was "first deeply awakened." Years afterward Barrett told a Lincoln group how it came about:

In his schoolroom, a boy or girl who whispered was punished by being sent to sit beside the solitary Negro girl who occupied a front double seat. The day came when the teacher called to "Ollie Barrett" to share the double seat with the Negro girl. Other boys in the room laughed. Oliver went to the back of the room for a drink, disappeared out the door and ran home to tell his mother. She quieted him and told him about human slavery and how Abraham Lincoln had ended it in the United States. She told him about the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation. Finally she promised to take him to Springfield to see where Lincoln had lived and where he was buried.

That promise was kept the next spring when Ollie Barrett had his first ride on a train for the sixty-odd miles from Pittsfield to the state capital. Lincoln's tomb, then under the custodianship of John Carroll Power, made a great impression on the small boy. At the home which Lincoln forsook to go to Washington as President-elect, the widow and her youngest child met Osborn H. Oldroyd, the custodian, who gave the small visitor a few souvenirs by which to remember his trip to Lincoln's house.

That was the start of the Barrett collection. Back in Pittsfield Oliver's mother showed him a jingle that John G. Nicolay had written in her autograph album in 1853. She took him to the attic to see bullet and candle molds, a hoop skirt, and land grants bearing the signatures of Presidents of the United States. Then she opened a trunk which contained many thousands of canceled postage stamps, saved by the father when he was in heavy correspondence for the Freedman's Aid Society. Young Oliver soon found that some of these were rare and could be sold for good prices. With money thus realized he began to seek and to buy Lincoln letters and other items, such

as newspapers and handbills. When persons of distinction on the stage and in other fields came to Pittsfield he made it his business to find them at the local hotel and obtain autographs.

Although the stamps in the trunk brought money from collectors, Oliver needed more for autographs. He began to take subscriptions in Pittsfield for the *Youth's Companion* and soon had enough to win a small printing press. With this he issued a circular: "WANTED, Letters of Famous Men," which he sent to postmasters for display on post office bulletin boards. From Lizzie Gilmer, of Pittsfield, he received autographs cut from letters of her father's cousin, Meriwether Lewis, and other distinguished persons. By the time Oliver was graduated from high school at seventeen, he had worked out several form letters which he sent to prominent people for autographs and old letters.

Oliver's mother wished him to be a preacher, and his grandfather had set his heart on producing a farmer. But Oliver wanted to be a lawyer. For his formal training the precocious youth from Pittsfield went to the University of Michigan. He was graduated in the law class of 1896 and that year was admitted to practice in Illinois. His career at the bar was interrupted briefly by the Spanish-American War. He enlisted as a private in the Fifth Illinois Volunteers, April, 1898, and the following November was mustered out as a corporal.

Peoria was the seat of Oliver's practice from 1896 to 1905. In those days he had a lot of fun training dogs. One pet would sit and wait all day for him at his office or the courthouse. Neighbors could tell on which one of the Peoria belles he was calling by the presence of this mongrel on the porch—also how late the visitor stayed. A verse about Ollie Barrett and his dog appeared in a local paper. This fondness for dogs was such that Oliver had no hesitation in moving in to separate dogs when they were fighting. He had a scar on his lip which came from such a peacemaking venture.

Life was pleasant in Peoria at the turn of the century, but

Oliver needed a larger income in order to collect Lincolniana and other manuscripts of the value to which he was now attracted. He moved to Chicago in 1905 and had for his first partner, Edwin Hedrick. Later his firm was Guerin and Barrett, and then for many years he was with Cooke, Sullivan, and Ricks, at 122 South Michigan Avenue, and the successor firms, including Daily, Dines, White, and Fiedler.

His law practice was largely trial and appellate work. Cooke, Sullivan, and Ricks were attorneys for the Insull operating companies and Oliver did a large share of the personal injury work in this connection. He also handled many personal injury cases for the Peoples Gas Light & Coke Co. Inevitably some cases came to him as an individual lawyer and he had other types of practice. One of his particular skills was to note slight variations in testimony. He would develop these differences and not infrequently show that witnesses in personal injury cases were confused and unreliable.

Oliver's understanding helpmeet was Pauline Speckbacher Proctor, the daughter of Dr. Josef Speckbacher, of Salzburg, Austria. He married her on Christmas Day, 1911, at the Wayside Inn, in Sudbury, Massachusetts, famous in Longfellow's poem. Sandburg tells this amusing story about her and Oliver's collecting:

The collector's wife often comes in for discussion among collectors. To be happy, her hobby must be a husband who has a hobby. This sentiment has been heard where collectors forgather. For some years after his marriage Barrett had a system when bringing home an armload of books or manuscripts. He laid them gently and quietly outside the front basement window. Later at night he would go to the basement, and, as casually as you please, bring his new acquisitions upstairs as if from his old basement stock. This smuggling system came to an end when a law partner, in retaliation for a practical joke, repaid in kind and told how the system worked—and it ended. The collector was forced to devise new methods.

For years while Oliver was still in active practice, he enjoyed going home on Saturday afternoons, getting into bed and staying there until Monday morning. Over such long

week ends he would read stacks of catalogues and manuscripts and books, new and old. This odd custom was a great saver in time and effort for him.

As a collector, Oliver had many amusing experiences. Once he bought some western sketches from a dealer who claimed they were Remingtons. Oliver did not believe it but liked them and, since the price was low, he bought them. Later Oliver found out, as he had suspected, that they were not the work of Remington. The artist was actually Charles M. Russell, more sought after and at least as valuable as Remington. The dealer had lost money by his skulduggery.

One day a high school boy brought a manuscript poem by William Blake to Oliver's office. The collector liked Blake and had quite a few of his manuscripts. This one looked genuine but Oliver was suspicious of the boy's story. Nevertheless he bought the manuscript on the chance that it was all right. It seems that Blake used a certain ink which reacted readily to a chemical eradicator. Oliver finally decided to use the ink test on the Blake manuscript. While he was working on it he upset the bottle. The ink reacted by practically disappearing. The manuscript was genuine—and ruined.

Practical jokers differ. Oliver was the subtle kind. For example, he might take a pocketful of Indian arrowheads with him on a summer vacation and scatter them so that his friends and guests might have the thrill of finding them.

He particularly enjoyed informal groups of a dozen or so of related interests. These included the Skeeters and the Banderlog groups, which were composed of men of prominence in Chicago who came from many walks of life—a rabbi, a priest, bank president, explorer, watch collector, and so on. Over good food and drink, they indulged in philosophical discussions, joshing, talk of current events, and historic and religious themes.

Once the Skeeters made a trip to Harbert, Michigan, where Carl Sandburg then lived. The group was in a large,



open car driven by a chauffeur. Before they left Chicago, the travelers made a pool on the time the drive would take. Each put in a substantial sum, perhaps \$20. Oliver reached in his pocket for his contribution. He carried his money interspersed between envelopes and pieces of paper in his inside coat pocket. This time he pulled out all of the contents. Just then a gust of wind whipped the envelopes, papers, and money out of his hand and scattered them on the road. "Stop! Stop!" he yelled. The others simply laughed at him. No one gave the order to stop and the car whizzed on. But worse luck was yet to come. As they neared Sandburg's place, it became apparent that Oliver would win the pool. However, a half-mile from their destination, they found a freight train across the road, and that held up the party just long enough to make another man the winner.

Oliver Barrett was very well read, particularly in the writings of the nineteenth century, and he had a fine memory for quotable passages. Fellow members will never forget his introductions of speakers during his presidency of the Caxton Club. In almost every instance, he found something to quote which fitted the occasion perfectly and always spoke it with feeling and grace.

A seeming contradiction in Barrett was his apparent carelessness in handling the fragile materials he collected. A big wall safe in his office was piled two feet deep with books and papers, all in the worst possible disorder. He could dive into that mess and stir it around as one would a pile of kindling. Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, recalls that Oliver would pull at a valuable manuscript in a way that Paul himself would not have risked under any circumstances. Yet Paul never saw him tear one.

Collecting Lincolniana brought Oliver Barrett many friendships, and one of the very warmest of these was with Henry Horner, who began gathering, when quite a young man, books and pamphlets and other printed items about Lin-

coln. Barrett and Horner, a lawyer who served eighteen years as Judge of the Cook County Probate Court, met frequently, went over catalogues together and kept each other's wants in mind. Sandburg relates that they once stayed up until daybreak over mutual enthusiasms. Together they appraised the William E. Barton collection for the Lincoln library of the University of Chicago.

When Judge Horner was elected governor in 1932, he became responsible for the appointment of trustees of the State Historical Library. From the inception of the Library there had been a practice of naming, for the most part, well-qualified citizens to the three trusteeships. In May, 1936, the trustees were Professor Laurence M. Larson, head of the department of history of the University of Illinois; Dr. Albert Britt, president of Knox College; and Paul Steinbrecher, of Chicago. Soon afterward Dr. Britt left the state and, early in 1937, Governor Horner named Oliver Barrett to the vacancy. A second vacancy was created by the death of Mr. Steinbrecher with the result that Lloyd Lewis was also appointed in 1937. Professor Larson died in 1938, whereupon it became the rare good fortune of the writer of this article to be chosen to meet with Oliver and Lloyd and the librarian of the State Historical Library, the distinguished Lincoln authority, Paul Angle, and to join them in the conduct and management of the institution and its valuable possessions. The third of the new trustees attended his first meeting, July 23, 1938, and on that occasion he and Lloyd elected Oliver president of the trustees.

The junior in the group looked forward eagerly to each meeting and he has good reason to believe that the others found the gatherings pleasant as well as expeditious in doing business for the state. Usually the quartet assembled at the Library in Springfield or in Chicago, but there were times when the meeting was around the dinner table of some one of the group. The trustees of that period knew the warm hospitality of the Barrett home, Mrs. Barrett's delicious cooking,

and, from firsthand examination, something of the treasures of the Barrett collection.

Undoubtedly Governor Horner intended that Oliver's thorough knowledge of the Lincoln manuscript and publication fields should be of benefit to the taxpayers of Illinois. This was most certainly the case. Paul Angle would read a list of offered items and the prices. Lloyd and the junior trustee would listen while Oliver told which prices were too high, which were in line, and which represented bargains. He knew what to offer when the item was desirable but the asked price was out of line. For the eight years from 1937 to 1945, Oliver gave the Lincoln purchases of the State Historical Library the same care he had given to building his own collection.

The outstanding acquisition in that time was the autograph copy of the Gettysburg Address prepared by Lincoln for the New York Sanitary Fair at the request of Edward Everett. With it was the manuscript of Everett's oration at the dedication of the cemetery at Gettysburg battlefield. Since the Library's funds were restricted to appropriations, it was necessary to conduct a campaign to raise the money to buy these valuable manuscripts. As president of the trustees, Oliver worked out a plan with the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Vernon L. Nickell, through which the schools co-operated. There were also individual gifts, including a large donation by Marshall Field. Oliver's own part was an important one since he, as a private collector, knew where the Lincoln manuscript was and how to go about obtaining it before, through sale or auction, it could get into other private hands or to some institutional Lincoln collection.

It is possible here only to suggest the growth of the people's collection of Lincoln items while Oliver Barrett was the Library board's president. One of the most valuable items obtained was a copy of William Dean Howells' *Lives and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin*, published in 1860. What makes this copy of such importance is the

fact that Lincoln himself had read the book and written by his own hand corrections on the margins of the pages. It is the only book of its kind in any Lincoln collection anywhere.

Another valuable purchase was a handwritten copy of the Thirteenth Amendment—the constitutional amendment which abolished slavery. This document was signed by Lincoln, Hamlin, and members of the Thirty-eighth Congress. Soon after Oliver became president of the trustees, the Library obtained, through purchase, ten Lincoln letters to Congressman Elihu B. Washburne, of Galena. This group of letters concerned in large part Lincoln and the Republican Party in Illinois. Still another purchase of note was the manuscript collection of Civil War General John A. McClelland, of Shawneetown, Jacksonville, and Springfield.

The most outstanding gift received was the Henry Horner collection of Lincolniana. In his letter offering the gift, which was addressed "To the Board of Trustees and Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library: Oliver R. Barrett, Lloyd Lewis, Irving Dilliard and Paul M. Angle," the Governor said:

Nothing has given me more pleasure during the last eight years than the sight of ever-increasing numbers of people entering our Illinois State Historical Library to study the inspiring records and mementoes of our State's glorious past. . . .

As Trustees and Librarian, you have served Illinois and history with such diligence and unselfishness that I wish to make this gift at a time when it shall have the particular benefit of your ideas as to how it can be made of the greatest possible use to the people, whether they be the most scholarly of historical researchers or the humblest of school children.

Oliver presided graciously on the occasion which marked the delivery of the Horner collection to the people of Illinois, February 12, 1941—but the devoted Governor did not live to attend the ceremony.

Though appointed by a Democratic governor and a friend of many Democrats, Oliver Barrett was a strong Republican. He cherished his political opinions and was steadfast in his



judgments as to sound public policy. Goings-on in Washington, even though they included decisions of the United States Supreme Court, did not necessarily bespeak the eternal verities to him.

One honor which came to Oliver while he was president of the trustees pleased his associates as much as it pleased him. This was his election to honorary membership in Phi Beta Kappa by the Illinois Epsilon chapter at Illinois College, Jacksonville. The happy ceremony, in the old college at Oliver's birthplace, was held on May 7, 1941. Oliver put his key on his watch fob and wore it with quiet pride.

In the summer of 1943, the Library's junior trustee began a stretch of more than three years in the United States Army. This placed the full load of passing on the business of the Library, including the reviewing and approving of vouchers, on Oliver and Lloyd. After two years it was clear that a new trustee was needed and so the writer of this article submitted his resignation to be put in effect at the pleasure of Oliver and Governor Dwight H. Green who had, early in his first administration, reappointed all three. This resignation became effective on July 14, 1945. Within a short time both Oliver and Lloyd agreed that it probably would be a good idea to permit the appointment of a new set of qualified trustees, who could start out more or less together, as the Barrett-Lewis-Dilliard board had done. A new board could also work with a new librarian, since this was the time when Paul Angle forsook Springfield to become director of the Chicago Historical Society. Thus, in a short period, Jay Monaghan moved into Paul Angle's office, and Alfred W. Stern, of Chicago, whose truly great collection of Civil War materials is now at the Library; Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president of MacMurray College, Jacksonville; and Benjamin P. Thomas, of Springfield, author of *Portrait for Posterity* and *Lincoln's New Salem*, became the three new trustees by appointment of Governor Green.

A truly amazing fact about Oliver Barrett was that he found time, so it seemed, to try his hand at everything which interested him. He loved the out-of-doors and was an avid fisherman. As a young lawyer in Peoria, he became a skilled tennis player and went about the area engaging in tournaments. After he passed his fiftieth birthday he took up golf and steadily improved until he played quite a good game.

Before he went in for golf, Oliver was an indefatigable gardener. There were acres of woods and fields adjacent to his house in Kenilworth and on these he tried all sorts of experiments with growing things. He had both hot and cold frames and turned all his green cuttings back to the soil through compost piles. There was no place too distant for him to send for seeds or bulbs.

The gardener inevitably became a devoted friend to birds. He trained the feathered singers to come nearer and nearer to the house until the feeding shelf at his bedroom window was a sight to behold. There he watched cardinals, nuthatches, chickadees, orioles, and many other birds. Some were so tame that they would wait at an appointed time for him to scatter food on the shelf. Birds stopped in his garden on their spring and fall migrations. He was particularly happy when wild doves began to nest near his house and he placed seeds on the ground for them each evening when he returned from the office. One season a mourning dove habitually met him at the front gate and followed him to the house to be fed.

Oliver read with great rapidity. If the subject interested him, he became completely absorbed. Shortly after Sir Esme Wingfield-Stratford's *History of British Civilization* was published in two large volumes, Paul Angle mentioned it to him. Oliver's comment was that he had recently read it at one sitting. It happened this way, Paul relates:

A bad blizzard blew up one afternoon and tied up traffic so badly that Barrett decided to stay in town for the night. He went to the Union League Club, to which he then belonged, and took a room. After dinner he wandered

into the library, where he saw the Wingfield-Stratford book. He picked it up, became interested, and lost all track of time. He was brought back to his senses when a cleaning woman came in about 7:30 A.M. to dust the room. By that time he was reading the last chapter of the second volume.

High among the choicest items in the Barrett collection is the spun gold watch chain which appears in the most famous of all Lincoln pictures, the photograph portrait by Mathew S. Brady taken in 1864. Twice Robert Todd Lincoln called at Oliver's office to offer to exchange Lincoln documents for the watch chain. The collector was away on law business each time but he and Lincoln's son agreed on an exchange of manuscripts for the watch chain. However, before it took place, Robert Todd Lincoln died. Another item of great value in the Barrett collection is the earliest known Lincoln autograph, which appears on an arithmetic used in his boyhood.

The Lincoln collection which Oliver assembled has been valued at \$400,000 by appraisers for the Library of Congress. It is estimated that the collection would bring more than half a million if broken up and sold at auction. That would be a historical tragedy for it would mean that all the time Oliver spent assembling this material into one collection would be lost. The Barrett collection should stay in Illinois and the place where it belongs above all others is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Though Oliver was celebrated for his Lincoln collection, he had, in fact, a valuable collection of original manuscripts of poems and songs and other writings. These, which he gave to his son and only child, Roger, about 1930, included the originals of such famous works as *Home Sweet Home* and *Auld Lang Syne*. His interest in Dickens was second perhaps only to his enthusiasm for Lincoln. He was also attracted to curiosities and gathered such relics as Washington's umbrella and stirrups, locks of the hair of Napoleon, Keats, and Shelley, and the watch of John Hancock. Roy P. Basler, executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, reports that Oliver

once said: "My collection is my real work. I only practice law so that I can do my collecting."

Through twenty-three of his years as collector, Oliver had the help of an unusually able secretary, Miss Linnea Klef-bohm, who became a kind of custodian and librarian of the Barrett collection. As Carl Sandburg described her ministry, it was to "weave in and out" of the corners and byways of the files, boxes, chests, closets, envelopes, containers, bundles, and packages. "Kleffie" knew the Barrett jungle in its intimate details and could stop in the midst of typing a technical legal paper to find quickly a manuscript for some student of Lincoln.

The Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee, awarded Oliver the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1929. He was a member of the American, Illinois, and Chicago Bar associations and the Society of Trial Lawyers. In addition to the organizations and clubs already referred to, he was a member of the American Historical Association, Illinois State Historical Society, the Society of Midland Authors, the Bibliophile, and the Indian Hill and Grolier clubs.

Oliver Barrett was not a robust man, but his tall, lean frame carried a healthy as well as obviously vigorous body. His first really serious bout with ill-health came in 1948 when he was seventy-four years old. At that time he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage. After that he had to be more careful, but he lived pretty much his normal life until he had the coronary occlusion, which brought with it almost immediate death. He was at home when the stroke came and there, where he had spent so many happy hours with his family, his friends, his collections, and his birds, he died. His funeral was held two days later at the Kenilworth Union Church. In addition to his widow he is survived by his son Roger, a young lawyer who served in the Army in World War II and was on the American legal staff at the Nürnberg Trials, and two grandchildren.

Perhaps the most concise and accurate comment on Oliver's work as Lincoln collector were the words of Benja-



min Thomas, a successor on the Library's Board of Trustees. He said: "The Barrett Collection is so full and basic that a pretty good life of Lincoln could be written from it alone, whereas no present-day life could be written without it."

This all too short sketch of Oliver Rogers Barrett began with the dedication written in *The War Years* by his close companion of the long journey, Carl Sandburg. Let it close with the survivor's final tribute to his departed friend:

For the long journey on which he has gone, Oliver R. Barrett was prepared. He wrote a few weeks ago of the summons at the door, how it might be either "the postman's knock or the sunset call." This time it was not one more catalogue at the door. This time it was the sunset call.

As a philosopher and a man of faith he was ready for his departure. Few strong men crowd into their years such a variety of bright fellowships in the living present and of grave communions with those vanished into the past.

His intelligent toil and devotion in his favorite pursuit assure him of being long and lovingly remembered beyond our immediate circle who knew his laughter, affection and generosity. His memory will keep green in generations beyond ours. He had austerity and humility, and in the realm he has entered it might not be fantastic to envision him saying, "Here, oh Lord, is the manuscript of my life—do with it what you will."

With reverence today we give our salutations and farewells to the face and form so silent now forever.

But still another word. One morning when the Sangamon prairie was lush and sweet in the first Junetime after his going, the quiet, sorrowing widow went down to Springfield and out to Oak Ridge Cemetery where other mourners had laid the Great Emancipator eighty-five years earlier. She stood on a green hilltop near the tomb which all the world visits so reverently. There she selected the place where Oliver Barrett's ashes will rest through autumns and winters, through springs and summers to come—forever close to his beloved Lincoln.



## RICHARD COBDEN AND ILLINOIS

BY W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

WHEN he was thirty years old and still a comparatively unknown calico manufacturer, and even before he had visited America, Richard Cobden wrote these prescient words:

It is from the West rather than from the East, that the danger to the supremacy of Great Britain is to be apprehended; that is, from the silent and peaceful rivalry of American commerce, the growth of its manufactures, its rapid progress in internal improvements, the superior education of its people, and their economical and pacific government—that is from these, and not from the barbarous policy and impoverishing armaments of Russia, that the grandeur of our commercial and national prosperity is endangered. *And the writer stakes his reputation on the prediction that, in less than twenty years, this will be the sentiment of the people of England generally; and that the same conviction will be forced upon the government of the country.*

This was written after Cobden had read James Stuart's *Three Years in North America* (1833), but he had yet to confirm personally any of Stuart's observations. Cobden made two visits to America. The first in 1835, when he was thirty-one years old, the second in 1859, six years before he died.

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These two visits stand like starting and finishing posts to his high-speed career: the beginning and triumph of his particular hobby horse. However, Richard Cobden's American diaries remain unpublished. Now deposited in the British Museum as Add. Mss. 43669 and 43670, they throw bright lights on the hinterland of his ideas.

Cobden's first visit to America, recorded in a little green leather pocketbook, shows the youth of the man. On his thirty-first birthday (which he celebrated during his thirty-eight-day journey on the boat) he made a vow not to bite his lips and cheeks "when cogitating." He was very sensitive to the beauty of the American womenfolk remarking that those of Boston "are decidedly prettier than those of New York, but still deficient in *preface* and *postscript*."

Landing at New York on June 7, 1835, he promptly plunged into a round of visits. The men he met were of his own caliber, "full of spirits, spirits, spirits." Anson Phelps, whose castles in the air had materialized so well (now Phelps Dodge Corporation) that a town was named after him (Ansonia) and George Hogg, an immigrant from England who became the first big chain store operator in America, "gentlemanly and intelligent, with a fault in over diffuseness and a propensity for amplification," were two men who left a great impression on him, as he traveled on the Eastern seaboard.

His visit westward, from Washington, via Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, and Hopkinsville, Kentucky, took him to the Cumberland River. Like Stuart before him, he was much impressed with the soil of the Mississippi Valley. He records the indignation of his traveling companions against the prejudiced accounts of Basil Hall, Frances Trollope, and especially Fanny Kemble. Everyone seemed a living parable of the benefits to be obtained by immigration. "*Even the Irish* wash before leaving the workshop," wrote Cobden of a model mill. More advanced forms of social organization did not attract him, for though he liked the cleanliness of the Pennsyl-

vania village of Economy on the Ohio, he remarked, "the inmates appear to me to exhibit the dull, sunken eyes and the *sodden* inflexible features peculiar to all fanatics."

But above all things, he was struck by one pronounced characteristic among his companions: "a remarkable alertness on the part of all Americans on all subjects of investments in land, by which, owing to the sudden construction of a railway or by means of a canal project at a particular point, vast profits have been realized." This awareness of opportunity Cobden found expressed in other forms. "How the egotism of this people speaks in the use of the pronouns I and Us and Me," he noted, after listening to a Fourth of July oration at Boston. He seemed to be perturbed by the "ever craving nationality of the people." Perhaps he might have been excused for the touches of asperity that crept into his diary since his carriage caught fire twice after leaving Boston. The second time, the passengers were obliged to tear out all the lining, and, in doing so, were soused with water from the roof. "The Yankees," remarked Cobden on this occasion, "are in too much hurry to finish things properly before they go ahead."

The American apocalypse at first struck Cobden as he was visiting an infant school:

Oh happy sight, pregnant with the hopes of the exaltation of the character of future generations. I hereby dedicate myself to the task of promoting the cause of infant school in England where they may become an instrument for ameliorating the fate of children working in the factories whose case I fear is beyond the reach of all other remedies.

This was Cobden's self-imposed task on his return to England. As soon as he got back from his travels, he invited to his counting house at Manchester the ministers of every denomination in the country. His idea was to establish some kind of common platform for all parties, so that the educational program in England could be formulated and got under way. But, spiced with sect, the parties he tried to bring together were too bedded in tradition to combine, and the presumption



of the young Manchester calico manufacturer was ridiculed. Cobden himself turned to another crusade, before which his educational crusade had to give way. This was for the repeal of the Corn Laws (duties on imported grain).

The Anti-Corn Law crusade, which Cobden led with such histrionic ability, owed much of its success to the fervent belief of its chief protagonists that America could furnish all the grain that was needed to supply the deficiency. Their view was not shared by the English landowners, nor by John Ramsay McCulloch, the recognized political economist of the day. The wide divergence of their outlook may be illustrated from two quotations. The first, from page 8 of McCulloch's *Statements Illustrative of the Policy and Probable Consequences of the Proposed Repeal of the Existing Corn Laws . . .* (London, 1841), displays a political myopia that could arise only from lack of information:

It is needless to take up the reader's time by entering into any lengthened details with respect to the Corn Trade of the United States. It is abundantly certain that we need not look to that quarter for any considerable supplies. American flour, though decidedly inferior to British wheat, is seldom under 40 s. a quarter [eight bushels] in New York, and is frequently much higher. Latterly the culture of wheat has been decreasing in the United States, and a material decrease has taken place in the exports of flour. Indeed, everybody acquainted with matters knows that, within the last half-dozen years, considerable quantities of flour have been shipped from Dantzic to other European ports for America.

The second, from the *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, Number 39, is an almost complete contradiction: "In the American port of Cincinnati alone, there are a million of quarters of wheat which we could purchase at 16s—or less than one fourth the price we are compelled to pay for our home grown product."

So it is little wonder Cobden's cause triumphed, that the Anti-Corn Law League, with its hard core of realism, its sharper vision, should expose the ostrichism of McCulloch and the British landlords. Nor is it surprising that Cobden's allies should be very eager to follow the political leader who had

led them to one triumph. When they rallied round with a truly magnificent subscription to pay the debts he incurred while neglecting his business for the crusade, Cobden gave them an example of his long range vision by investing nearly all of it in the Illinois Central Railroad. The Anti-Corn Law men of substance followed him with almost porcine faith.

Begun soon after the repeal of the Corn Laws had become operative, the Illinois Central railway, with its two-and-a-half-million-acre land grant, seemed to many British investors to be a good compensation for the loss of the first British Empire (the American colonies). For six years, this belief remained undisturbed. But in 1857, the financial crisis, scarcely understood by them, prompted the all-American board of directors to demand a further share levy. Suspicious at once, the British shareholders formed a committee under George Moffatt. Cobden was on that committee.

So the second time he came over, it was to inquire into the state of the Illinois Central Railroad, the repository of his fortunes, and the embodiment of his political dream. Crossing the ocean, he saw only three vessels and noted: "this gives one a striking idea of the immensity of the Ocean and of the insignificant amount of commerce still borne on its bosom." This time he took fourteen days, landing at Boston, and hurrying to New York to stay with W. H. Osborn, the chairman of the Illinois Central; with whom he went to church on February 27, 1859, and afterward dined.

On February 28, he attended a board meeting of the Illinois Central where he found "the annual report which had been sent forth contained passages obnoxious to the London Committee of shareholders, which I advised the directors to alter." After the meeting, he went to stay with H. D. Gilpin, the fifty-eight-year-old former United States Attorney General who was also heavily committed in western investments. Gilpin introduced him to Charles Macalester, who, noted Cobden, "has investments in Illinois."

Arriving at five o'clock on March 2, at Washington, he took a glass of brandy and water with President Buchanan. After meeting a number of distinguished men he breakfasted with Senators R. M. T. Hunter and James M. Mason, the former the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and the latter chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He met Robert J. Walker, recently governor of Kansas Territory, walking with him to the photographer's where they both had their portraits taken. He dined with General Lewis Cass, who, in 1848, had advocated a land grant to Illinois for the encouragement of railroads. Breakfasting with President Buchanan, Cobden noted: "found him looking much older and apparently out of spirits and not so happy as when I knew him in London. Having attained the highest object of his worldly ambition, he is disappointed with the results. He invited me on my return to take up my abode at the White House."

Back in New York on March 7, he attended another meeting of the Illinois Central committee, and "found them willing to expunge the part of the Annual Report which was likely to be offensive to the London Committee." In the ensuing week he paid a round of visits: Cyrus Field; Bryant, the poet; Dana, of the *Tribune*; O'Connor, the barrister; John Sherman, from Ohio; Bancroft, the historian; Everett, and Astor. Then, after a quick visit to Niagara (which had so entranced him the first time) he was loaned the directors' car of the Michigan Central railroad, and set off for Chicago on March 15.

Crossing Michigan, "the prominent and handsome objects" he noticed from the window of his car were school houses. Chicago was reached on the sixteenth, and here he attended the annual meeting of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, spending the rest of the day "chiefly with the officers of the company." "Chicago [is] a more substantial and older looking city than Detroit, but does not stand so well, the situation being flat," he noted. Then he prepared to travel over the entire mileage of the railroad.

With William Henry Osborn (sixteen years his junior) and G. B. McClellan (twenty-two years his junior) who were president and vice-president respectively, he set out in the directors' car of the Illinois Central. His observation now became more intense, for he was looking at the territory with an eye to its future. He wrote:

After passing over 20 or 30 miles, we came upon the Great Prairie over which the road was carried four years since when there was scarcely an inhabitant upon it. Now it is dotted with small farmhouses built of wood. Not a tree is visible. The soil is a very rich black mud, almost impassable in wet weather, there being no stone or other material for roads.

Down to Centralia the directors' car was towed, shunted at night onto a siding. Cobden noted with great approval:

We saw open tracts of land varying from a few hundred to many thousand acres bordered with belts of forest. The open tracts were free from shrubs or detached trees or stones, just in that level state in which an English farmer likes to have his land. The soil is of the best quality for wheat and would let in England for £2 an acre. Here it is on *sale* for the same price with long credit and with a railroad running through it.

They reached Cairo on the evening of March 18. Cobden, looking at the young town, prophesied, "this embryo city will become the busy place of transshipment but not the residence of rich merchants." The river had overflowed when he arrived, and this potential seat of commerce was almost a sheet of water. So it is little wonder that he thought the people of Cairo had "a wild amphibious aspect, wearing high boots outside their trousers which seemed never to have been cleaned, while their long hair and beards gave them a Slavonic [*sic*] aspect."

At Cairo he left the railway, and embarked on a Mississippi River steamer which had Senator Jefferson Davis on board. Cobden asked his opinion of McClellan [George B.?] and received the reply: "not merely an able man, but a gentleman high spirited with an honourable ambition." Reaching Memphis on Sunday, March 20, they then went by rail to Junction and Holly Spring, where they stopped to see men connected with the Cairo-New Orleans Railway. Cobden was



driven to the cotton estate of a Mr. Goodman, where he saw the Whitney cotton gin. Thence by rail to Columbus, Kentucky, and boat to Cairo.

At Cairo, he once more boarded the directors' car, and traveled northward to Centralia, where he slept the night on a siding. On March 23, he left Centralia for Rutland, in La Salle County, where he recorded:

Introduced to Mr. Burns, the leading person in the community, who, with another person, has been deputed by the neighbours to travel through the western part of the states to choose a residence for about 200 Vermont families. After visiting Iowa, Minnesota, and other portions of the West, he chose this spot in Illinois, bought 20,000 acres from the Railway Company, and named the new colony Rutland, from whence he and his neighbours in New England had come. Satisfied with change. He told me that he had himself entered on his farm in May, and that the next Autumn twelvemonth he had sent to market 5,000 bushels of wheat, the produce of his land.

Cobden met a number of Britishers in his travels. At one of the small stations, he recorded: "an Englishman accosted me who said he was from Petworth—a tall man named Slater. He introduced me to a Polish 'count'—an old gentleman who gave me two hens for my supper." On March 24, another, "named Wolley, got into the carriage at Dixon, formerly in the employ of Mr. E. Armitage (a Manchester manufacturer). He said that several Englishmen were residing in that neighbourhood."

On March 25, he reached the northwestern terminus of the Illinois Central railway, and crossed the river to Dubuque. Here he took a boat down the west side of Illinois, with its six hundred miles of high banks. This trip gave him his greatest insight into the financial crisis which had been the occasion for his visit. He noted:

The small towns on the banks at which we touched and where we alighted had been in an excited state of prosperity up to 1857 when they had been prostrated by the commercial crisis. Since that year they have been subjected to the additional calamity of an almost total failure of their wheat crop. Property had in many cases fallen to one half. The Iowa side

of the river seems to have more dismal tales of distress to tell than its opposite neighbour.

This trip also provided him with food for thought on the domestic manners of the Americans:

The company on board the boat comprised a great many rough bearded men with coarse dresses of outlandish fashion and some with loose trousers tucked into their dirty boots, others with their pantaloons rolled above their shoes like our "navigators"—these men, most of them young and full of animal spirits, were on their way to the new gold mines at Pike's Peak, all of them carrying the baggage and provisions and small arms required for a journey across the plains to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

I was struck with the orderly, sober and forbearing demeanour of these men, not a rude or boisterous word fell from any one of them. Such a company as I find on board this boat if assembled together in England under similar circumstances with the incessant drinking of beer and spirits which would be resorted to for companionship and past time would be attended with boisterous rudeness and inevitable collisions.

As the reason for this, Cobden supposed "the superior education in America will be thought by some, and the concealed bowie knife and revolver will be said by others to account for the courtesy and forbearance of my fellow passengers, but I think the absence of stimulants to be the one great preserver of the peace." Though, looking at St. Louis on March 28, with its mile of steamers and notices hung out beside them on which was painted "Pike's Peak," he was forced to admit that "here, as in nearly all the towns on the Mississippi, the most prominent and conspicuous buildings are the colleges and schools."

Leaving the steamer at St. Louis, Cobden struck out across the river, taking the Ohio and Mississippi Railway to Centralia. There he was able to board the Illinois Central Railroad to Chicago where he arrived at noon on March 29. It impressed him. "The principal streets," he noted, "contain some shops and warehouses rivalling in style, and far surpassing in rental, anything to be found in London or Liverpool." A Mr. Wilson drove him through the city, and he met a Mr. Anderson, I. H. Burch, and Judge Hugh T. Dickey.

He devoted March 31, to an examination of the schools of Chicago. With Judge Thomas Drummond, Luther Haven, president of the Board of Education, Mr. Burch, and Isaac N. Arnold he saw two primary schools and one secondary school. His comments and comparisons are illuminating:

Many of the boys and girls are of an age beyond that at which they would be found in the same class in England, or at which boys would still be found under the charge of females. The mixing of the boys and girls, even up to age when in this precocious clime they become young men and women, in the same schools and classes has a salutary effect on both sexes, in softening and humanising the manners and feelings of the boys and imparting the stimulus of self respect and love of approbation to the studies of the females.

The delicacy of the young lady teachers "scarcely older than some of their scholars"—and the fact that forty or fifty per cent of the male scholars had mustaches—seemed very remarkable to him:

In England this would be impossible in the present state of feeling—the youths would be ashamed and afraid of the ridicule which would attach to their being "like babies" under the care of women. The schools have an ante-room for receiving the cloaks . . . of the children, and in the high schools the boys take off their shoes and wear slippers during their studies.

Other features of the educational scene pressed themselves on his notice: the respect which his companions (a judge, a banker, and a barrister) paid to the teachers, the eligibility of all for the schools ("nobody can be admitted to the high school excepting by process of examination in which rich and poor are placed on the same footing"), and the facility which every American possessed for speaking in public (as evinced by the dinner to which Cobden was invited in the evening). All this seemed to point to the American system as being one which Britain could adopt with great profit.

After five days in Chicago, Cobden went eastward to New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. Here, too, he was struck with the common schools:

[I] was told that all classes send their children to these schools with the sole exception of the millionaire class of Fifth Avenue—that even in the

girls schools which seemed to be as well attended as the boys, the daughters of professional men and judges sit side by side of the daughters of washerwomen. The schools were crowded—the buildings were well ventilated and admirably kept for cleanliness and there is an air of gentility and finish about them quite different from the makeshift buildings we have in England.

The Press Union dined him on April 9, asking him whether the political character of the country had deteriorated. But he had questions of his own to ask in the East, questions bearing on the future of Illinois. He dined with James Frederick Joy on April 12. Joy, who had interested New York financiers in his railroad projects, had pushed the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad toward Ottumwa, Iowa, in the two years in which it had been under his control. Driving around the newly planted Central Park:

Mr. Hewitt explained to me that he had agreed to take some shares in the Illinois Central Railroad at the pressing instance of the directors who had agreed to take a bill drawn by another company in payment. This was the only transaction of the kind he had had. On another occasion he had given the Company his bill in *advance* of his call. He told me that Mr. Wiley and he had paved the way for O's withdrawal from the presidency when Moffatt's unlucky suggestion and the attack made on him at the meeting of shareholders made it a point of honour with the Board to support their president. Is of the opinion that O is not fitted for the situation of president, that he is deficient in judgement etc.; and he thinks he may be induced to resign when he finds the finances of the company put in a proper state.

Calling on John Sherman (since 1855 an Ohio representative in Congress) he saw copies of his letters to George Moffatt respecting Illinois Central affairs. Moffatt, a wholesale tea dealer in London and Liverpool, was, like Cobden, on the London committee of shareholders in that company. Cobden noted, "I strongly advised Mr. S. and his capitalist friends to come in and take a large interest in the railroad." The same evening, he met John Jacob Astor, "said to be the richest man in the world, 30 to 50 million dollars at his own disposal."

There were other men, both distinguished and remark-



able, with whom Cobden talked on this trip to the East. C. A. Davis gave him anecdotes of early nineteenth century politicians ("he has a very exact memory," noted Cobden). Jerome Bonaparte, son of old Jerome by his American wife, Elizabeth Patterson, amused Cobden by his "striking resemblance to the Bonaparte family. It was droll to hear him talking in a strong nasal tone and with a Yankee idiom of his fast trotting horses." In Philadelphia Cobden saw Ashbell Welsh with whom he had "long conversations about Illinois railroad matters in which he is interested." Cobden found that Welsh was optimistic and "quite confident of the ultimate success of the undertaking—thinks the President an honest man, but too impulsive and wanting in judgement, and would like to see a better man in his place, but deprecates any hasty or violent proceedings to get rid of him." Inquiring for someone to represent the English shareholders on the Board of Directors Cobden was recommended to "Mr. A. Smith [Gustavus W. Smith?] as the most reliable man for integrity and talent and the most valuable in every way in connection with great public works such as railroads or canals."

Then there was President Buchanan, who, in the course of conversation in the evening,

Expressed the hope that Lord Palmerston would not again become Prime Minister, as it would be unfavourable to the maintenance of friendly relations between England and America—that although personally partial to Lord Palmerston, he regarded him as hostile to the United States and as of a belligerent character, and that he (Lord P) was unpopular with the people of America who consider him dictatorial, that he (the President) could in any negotiations make concessions to Lord Aberdeen which he would not dare to make to Lord P.

On May 2, Cobden was speeding westward once more. At Cincinnati he was met by John W. Garrett, chairman of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. At Columbus, he was joined by a leading citizen of Ohio, Governor Salmon P. Chase. "Travelled with him in the same carriage, found him an intelligent man but not very profound in Usury Laws or other

questions of political economy," noted Cobden. "He is the popular candidate for President in this state. On arrival at Cincinnati he took his carpet bag like the rest of us and walked to the nearest omnibus." He had some conversation with Judge John McLean of the Supreme Court who "was in a desponding mood on the political prospects of the country." On May 5, he took a special coach to Indianapolis and Lafayette, where he was called upon "by several Englishmen who were residing there and who were careful to warn me against universal suffrage."

Back in Illinois once more on May 6, he took to an open wagon, riding across the trackless prairie, where he saw "Mike Sullivan, a large Illinois farmer, who lives like a Wallachian landowner—20,000 acres of wild prairie—expects to sell yearly about 6,000 head of cattle." Cobden was struck by the amount the cattleman paid his workers, and drove with him twenty-five miles across the prairie to the nearest station of the Illinois Central Railroad. There, by a great coincidence, he met Lord Richard Grosvenor (later to become chairman of the London and North Western Railway Company).

Traveling with H. C. Lord, president of the Cincinnati and Indianapolis Railway, Cobden started from Cairo to traverse Illinois from south to north. Leaving on Sunday, May 8, they passed through Jonesboro, and arrived the following day at Richview in Washington County, just south of Centralia. He wrote:

The station master at this small place which has only been in existence four years says there have been more than 150 reaping machines sold here. Took a drive into the country to see a small colony of New Englanders settled upon the prairie, accompanied by a preacher who had been chiefly instrumental in organising the settlement. The colony has been quite successful. Mr. Miner, our clerical companion, said he would advise the promoters of emigrant colonies not to make them too large, that about a dozen persons are more likely to agree together than 40 or 50; when the number is large there being a greater risk of the colony breaking up into feuds and factions. The settlement comprises farmers, shopkeeper, blacksmith, joiner; each of these has some capital. Mr. Miner thinks very highly of this plan

of associated emigration similar to that which he has promoted. People moving into a new country with a body of companions with whom they are familiar and whose sympathies they share, experience none of the loneliness of exiles and are generally contented in their adopted home.

After this interlude, Cobden took a wagon to Centralia, boarding the train to El Paso, passing through Bloomington and several other towns. "All the growth of the last ten years," he noted, then continued:

[I] observed everywhere a great flow of agricultural implements of various descriptions. The country throughout our ride of upwards of 100 miles presents the usual appearance for Illinois and is of an unvarying richness and fertility. Everywhere the population was busy at the plough and in planting Indian corn. Saw the plough going till 7 o'clock as long as daylight lasted. "Corn" can be planted till 1st June or even later. From one and a half to two gallons of seed will produce a crop of from 50 to 70 bushels to the acre. This is a far larger increase than is got from any other cereal crop.

Cobden reached El Paso on May 10. Driving out several miles to observe the progress of cultivation, he returned to find a telegram announcing the outbreak of the Austro-Sardinian War. This provoked him:

Three crowned heads can plunge 130 millions of Russians, French, and Austrians into deadly strife with each other with the same absolute will as that with which Xerxes or Alexander swayed their hosts. And yet we are told we live in an age of progress. . . . If I were a young man, I would sever myself from the old world and plant myself in the western region of the United States where the "Balance of Power" is not an article of political faith and where the voice of the people can alone determine peace or war, and where filibustering crowned heads are unknown.

The following day Cobden spent in Chicago at the office of the Illinois Central Railroad, writing letters to England. He left, an hour before midnight, for Urbana and the south once more. His agricultural investigations continued:

Met McGuffie a Scotsman come to settle in the prairie who told me that the land in this neighbourhood would let for £5 an acre in Scotland. He had been to Canada with a view of buying a farm down there but was deterred by the labour of clearing the timber. Went to see a large farmer called Curtis and a Mr. Dunlop—a nurseryman. Caught in a thunderstorm on the

prairie and returned very wet and dirty. Proceeded by a special train to Tolono, the junction of the Great Western line which I traversed to Springfield.

Arriving at Springfield, Cobden called on Ozias M. Hatch, the Secretary of State, who professed to work for twelve hours a day. Mr. Hatch took Cobden to see Governor William H. Bissell, whom they found in bed owing to a partial paralysis of the legs with which he suffered. The following day Cobden went to Jacksonville, where he stayed with Colonel James Dunlap. To Cobden it was "a pretty town of 10,000 inhabitants, its streets planted with trees, and its suburbs containing many neat villas." He continued:

In this neighbourhood there are a considerable number of English settlers occupying farms which they cultivate successfully, living in a kind of colony in the vicinity of a village known as Lynnvile, and looking up, as I am told, to the largest landowner of their body as a leader. This is another success of the plan of emigrating in colonies of at least a dozen families together. A large cattle farmer in this neighbourhood named Strawn has 6,000 acres in cultivation. The country for many miles round Jacksonville is so rolling as almost to be called hilly, and it has a lovely intermixture of open farms, land, and forest scenery. The land, which is about the very best in Illinois, sells for about \$50 an acre including buildings and improvements.

On returning to Springfield Cobden was serenaded as he lay in bed. He got up to return thanks, and remarked "the leader of the band sent an apology for not playing 'God save the Queen' regretting that his performers did not know the tune."

Before departing, he left his card at the governor's. He also met a party of senators and other politicians "who sat round in a circle and expectorated towards a common centre in a very undignified way." The general impression of the people was very favorable, however:

The absence of servility on the part of servants is one of the characteristics of the West. Life is easy, and the opening for the employment of labour more than commensurates with the supply of workers and the result is that man, instead of being a drug on the market, is at a premium, and this, to my taste, constitutes the chief charm of the valley of the Mississippi.



Cobden was back in Chicago again on May 15 (Sunday), and went to the office of the Illinois Central on Monday morning to interview Walter L. Newberry on affairs of the company. The two men swapped stories, Newberry saying that in 1833 he witnessed an encampment of 5,000 Indians around Chicago, which at that time numbered only 500 persons. The following day there was more discussion of the affairs of the company. Mr. Stick (William H. Stickney?), a Mr. Anderson, and Judge Dickey, called to see Cobden. Most important was the dinner party which he had with Isaac Newton Arnold and J. F. Joy. The latter, wrote Cobden,

Is a leading lawyer of the West—a clever man. Talks of removing from Detroit, his present residence, to Chicago and Mr. Burch suggests that he may become interested as a shareholder in the Illinois Central and be made a local director. Mr. Anderson is also suggested. Mr. Joy, Mr. Burch, and Mr. Anderson would make an excellent local committee.

Cobden did not waste time. Before the dinner he had spent the whole day in the land office of the Illinois Central with Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and Colonel Foster, preparing an estimated budget for 1860.

But he did manage to look around Chicago—to see “McCormick’s factory” (then turning out 5,000 machines a year), and the five miles of wharfage. On his journey around the city with Mr. Burch, he saw 600 Mormon emigrants on their way to Utah, half of whom were English and Scotch. “All seemed very healthy,” Cobden remarked, “the young ones were in boisterous spirits. The young unmarried women appeared shy and shrunk from observation as if conscious that their principles were open to remark. Was told by their leader that they expected to reach their destination in September.”

Leaving Chicago by the Michigan Central Railroad, Cobden set off again to see the financial men of New York. Then he went to Boston, where he had a long talk with Captain W. H. Swift, the trustee for the English shareholders in the Illinois and Michigan Canal; and on the following day he saw

a Mr. Healy and Franklin Haven to discuss Illinois Central Railroad affairs. Then, after some sightseeing which included the spot where the *Mayflower* was alleged to have landed, he left for Canada on June 10.

Even here Cobden was concerned with the Illinois Central. In Montreal, at the house of the Hon. John Young, he met a Mr. Holmes,

[He] spoke in strong terms of condemnation against the mismanagement of the Grand Trunk Railway, and censured Thomas Baring and George Glyn for having misled the public about the prospects of the company (Mr. Holmes himself was formerly a director and had a dispute with the party at present in power). Mr. Young and Mr. Holmes both agreed that the shareholders would never receive a farthing for their investment.

No such fears, however, were entertained on behalf of Illinois Central stock, for Cobden heard Theodore Hart recommending it to his friends when he went to dine.

Cobden returned to England to find himself a popular hero. Lord Palmerston offered him a seat in the cabinet as President of the Board of Trade. Liverpool gave him a king's welcome. Everyone hoped that he would accept Lord Palmerston's offer, and nobody more than Lord Palmerston. But Cobden kept to his course. His opinions on the necessity of European harmony led him to work for an Anglo-French rapprochement. His profound appreciation of American schools led him to try to turn Matthew Arnold's thoughts in his direction. And the real purpose of his visit receded naturally into the background.



# ADDENDA TO LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION

BY OTTO EISENSCHIML

## II

PART of the unwritten history of Lincoln's death, which would have greatly increased our store of information, was buried with the body of William P. Wood, one of the strangest characters who ever walked across the stage of American history.<sup>1</sup> I propose to point out that a portion of what he knew may yet be recovered, although the chances are not too bright.

Wood was born in Alexandria, Virginia, on March 11, 1820, the son of an engraver. He chose the profession of model making, at which he became proficient as he did in everything else he attempted in his checkered career.<sup>2</sup> On February 27, 1847, he enlisted in the army<sup>3</sup> and fought through the remainder of the Mexican War as a mounted rifleman under the noted Texas ranger, General Samuel H. Walker. In spite of his open disregard of strict military discipline, Wood acquitted himself well, and was considered the daredevil leader of Company D. Returning to Washington after the war, he took up his former profession, married Harriet Smith, of Cumberland, Maryland, and reared a large family.

In 1859, when John Brown was preparing his raid on Harpers Ferry, Wood drilled men to take part in it, and wrote

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to David Rankin Barbee, of Washington, D. C., for first drawing my attention to William P. Wood.

<sup>2</sup> *Washington Evening Star*, Mar. 21, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from War Department, Aug. 2, 1938.

a book of tactics for those beyond his reach. He refused, however, to cross state lines with armed troops, and warned Brown of the risk. When his warning went unheeded, he withdrew from the venture and, after its failure, quietly disbanded his forces.

How and when Wood's acquaintance with Edwin M. Stanton began, I have been unable to ascertain. In 1854 we find the two men side by side in the McCormick-Manny reaper case, where Wood, according to his own admission, manufactured evidence which helped the future Secretary of War to win a favorable decision.<sup>4</sup> Following this questionable episode, the model maker served Stanton in various capacities, the nature of which has not been definitely established.

One of Stanton's first official acts as a member of Lincoln's cabinet was to write out in his own hand Wood's appointment as superintendent of the Old Capitol Prison,<sup>5</sup> a position which carried with it far more power than the title implies. Wood thereafter became an influential factor in Washington and behaved like a despot, not only toward his prisoners, but also toward his friends, including his patron and benefactor, Stanton. It was whispered in the capital that the austere Secretary of War was afraid of Wood and did not dare antagonize him. When Provost Marshal Andrew Porter once demanded that Stanton dismiss Wood from his post for contemptuously rescinding official orders, he was given the alternative of being insulted by the sacrosanct prison superintendent or resigning his commission.<sup>6</sup> Although the resourceful Wood, who did not know the meaning of fear, executed many dangerous spy missions during the war, Stanton probably would have been glad to rid himself of his insolent subordinate.<sup>7</sup>

On the day of Lincoln's assassination, Wood happened to

<sup>4</sup> McCormick Historical Association, Chicago, and Otto Eisenschiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* (Boston, 1937), 191-92.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, appendix.

<sup>6</sup> William E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York, 1915), 105.

<sup>7</sup> Otto Eisenschiml, *In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death* (New York, 1940), 204.



be in Cincinnati tracking down counterfeiters, but was recalled by telegraph. The conspirators were still at large, and he was ordered to join in the manhunt. For the remainder of his life he claimed that it was the information furnished by him which finally led to Booth's capture.

There can be no doubt that Wood knew much of the inside story of those troublesome days, and his memoirs would provide a tempting morsel for the historian. But did he write his memoirs? And if so, where are they? A search at the Library of Congress showed that its collection of Wood items consisted of:

1. An obituary notice in the *Washington Evening Star* of March 21, 1903.
2. A letter addressed to John W. Forney, Washington, 1867.<sup>8</sup>
3. A letter to George S. Boutwell (then Secretary of the Treasury), July 28, 1869.

A fourth item also was listed—the *Washington Gazette* of Sunday, November 4, 1883, but it could not be located by the librarian.<sup>9</sup> Photostats of the first three items were procured, but proved devoid of interest. For the time being the investigation became stalled.

Then an unexpected windfall came my way. In the spring of 1937 I was invited by C. M. Cochrane, of Davenport, Iowa, to attend a testimonial dinner in honor of Judge James W. Bollinger. Upon meeting Mr. Cochrane I discovered that he was acquainted with one of Colonel Wood's direct descendants, with whom he had been in correspondence. According to this descendant, Wood had started to write a volume of recollections, but died before he had completed more than a few chapters. What became of this fragmentary record was not known; fortunately, however, Mr. Cochrane had obtained from his correspondent two important clippings, which proved

<sup>8</sup> This letter is dated only by the year.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Chief Assistant Librarian Martin A. Roberts, Aug. 31, 1938.

to be the first installments of disclosures Wood had begun to write for the *Washington Gazette*. The two issues from which these clippings had been taken were dated October 28, and November 4, 1883.

The clipping from the October 28, issue dealt with Mrs. Surratt, the hapless woman who was hanged as an alleged conspirator against Lincoln's life and who, according to Wood, was "as innocent as any of the officers who sat upon her trial." But Wood's opinion was of secondary importance. Much more interesting was one fact which he related, and which threw a welcome light on a subject I had heretofore tried in vain to probe.

What had worried me was the failure of the War Department to gag Mrs. Surratt while she was awaiting trial. The seven male defendants had been very effectively—and cruelly—gagged, but not the female prisoner, who therefore was at least physically able to speak; hence the entire arrangement appeared faulty. Yet neither Stanton nor his Bureau of Military Justice was in the habit of making faulty arrangements in matters of such serious import.

This was the dilemma which faced the authorities: If they subjected a woman to the torture of continuous gagging, public opinion would be aroused; but not to gag her was still more hazardous, provided she had been in Booth's confidence, as was suspected. What was to be done?

Anyone who has read the histories of spies is acquainted with one way in which similar situations have been met. A spy who knew too much for the comfort of his captors usually was promised that his life would be spared if he kept quiet. He would be sentenced to death, but was told that the rifles of the firing squad would contain only paper bullets. Of course, this promise was broken, but the condemned man never lived to tell of the fraud.

I surmised that a similar fraud had been perpetrated on Mrs. Surratt, but I had no proof. All I could say in 1937, when

I wrote my first account, was that, "To Mrs. Surratt, in all likelihood, a promise of clemency was held out."<sup>10</sup>

The first lines of Wood's article dispelled my doubts—"there were guarantees made to her [Mrs. Surratt's] brother by the writer, upon authority of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, that she should not be executed." Here we have the standardized beginning of the old fraud. Now as to the standard ending: "and it is . . . our purpose to show how all these conditions were violated."

One more hurdle still had to be overcome. After Mrs. Surratt had been told of the verdict, she might question the promise held out to her and decide to talk. In three days, the usual time allowed before execution, many secrets could be divulged. This hurdle did not prove too difficult. In violation of all tradition, the time of her hanging was moved sharply ahead, for it was assumed that during her few remaining hours the victim would not recover from the shock. This assumption, as it turned out, proved correct. From the moment the death warrant was read to her, Mrs. Surratt did not talk coherently until the trap door was sprung under her.

The remainder of Wood's two installments was filled with expressions of horror at the treatment of the woman prisoner, also with lamentations that Lafayette Baker, Stanton's irresponsible chief of secret service, had robbed him of both the credit and the cash which Wood thought due him for his part in Booth's capture.

One sentence in Wood's revelations is of particular interest. He wrote, in the November 4, *Gazette*:

We declare that we are in possession of more information on the subject of the assassination and the contemplated kidnapping of President Lincoln than is known to any other party; we also declare without fear of challenge from anyone who professes to know anything about the matter to show any evidence controverting the declarations we make upon the subject.

This declaration will whet the appetite of any student

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<sup>10</sup> Eisenschiml, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?*, 179.



conspirators in the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. Mrs. Surratt was hung in Washington July 7, 1865, within the walls of the old Washington penitentiary, now part of the arsonal grounds.

This unfortunate lady was as innocent of any connection with the assassination of President Lincoln as any of the officers who sat upon her trial; besides there were guarantees made to her brother by the writer, upon authority of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, that she should not be executed, and it is now our purpose to show how all these conditions were violated, and the results growing out of this deplorable execution of an innocent woman.

made the capture.

After Booth's capture, and on my return to Washington, Baker read to me a communication which had been copied into his letter-book, and which copy (if not torn out) shows that L. C. Baker wrote in substance:

"I am indebted to William P. Wood, superintendent of the Old Capitol Prison, for the information which led to the arrest of Booth."

This letter was suppressed, the purpose (the execution of Mrs. Surratt) is, in my opinion, well known to Baker. I will further add that Baker has time and again promised me a copy of that letter, which acknowledged the facts as above stated, that he was indebted to me for the in-

FROM THE *Washington Gazette*, OCTOBER 28, 1883

The clipping at the top is from the beginning of the article by William P. Wood, while the one below is from a letter which is reproduced in the article. This letter was written by Wood to W. B. Matchett and was dated Washington, D. C., November 26, 1867.



who is intrigued by the mystery surrounding the great tragedy, and it is natural that I searched everywhere for subsequent issues of the *Washington Gazette*. This search brought no satisfactory results. Scattered copies of the paper were found in the Henry E. Huntington Library (February 21, 1885), in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts (January 15, 1871; August 19, 1877; December 30, 1883; February 22, 1885), the Texas State Library (February 27, 1870), and The Confederate Library and Museum, Richmond (April 6, 1870).

The only number which offered a faint hope for a sequel was the one dated December 30, 1883, of which a photostatic copy was kindly furnished me by the American Antiquarian Society. Mr. Wood's contribution there consists of three series of philosophical epigrams entitled, in the ornamental style of the times, "Buds of Thought," "Flowers of Reason," and "Axiomatic Fancies." They showed a new facet of the versatile jail keeper. He could not only write well, but also took the trouble of erecting handicaps to stiffen the task he had set for himself. The "Buds of Thought," for instance, had to be expressed in no less than forty-six nor more than fifty letters. Here are two samples characteristic of Wood, who was an avowed atheist: "The greatest frauds are lawyers, politicians and priests." And, "Liberty is not safe when creed assumes the role of justice."

In the "Flowers of Reason" the number of letters was limited to a range between 96 and 100: "To enable us to comprehend the essentials of religion, we must free ourselves from the petty formulas that surround it." And, "The different sects declare each other imposters; when the subject is understood neither will be charged with lying."

The "Axiomatic Fancies" were written in paragraphs containing between 296 and 300 letters, as, for instance: "Abuse, like other poisons, when administered in too strong doses, is thrown off by the intended victim, and often relieves,

where it was meant to destroy; admonition may at times be necessary, but instruction is more essential; to deal in severity only makes converts of that class of hypocrites who are ever with that side which can apply such means of conversion."

While these maxims illustrate Wood's personality, they certainly have no bearing on Lincoln's assassination.

Did Wood or did he not continue his disclosures after his first two effusions? The fact that his family had clipped only the issues of October 28, and November 4, 1883, points to the latter alternative. On the other hand, Wood must have intended to continue his exposures, or actually did so, to judge from the last words in the November 4, issue: "With this paragraph we will leave the hanging of Mrs. Surratt and the capture of Booth for a future paper." If Wood did discontinue the recollections his reasons for doing so remain obscure.

Once more I had run into a dead-end street, but I made one last effort to work my way out. I explored other newspapers of that period, in the expectation that some of them had quoted from the *Gazette*, or had commented on Wood's recollections. This search also proved fruitless, and so I regretfully abandoned this particular investigation.

One hope remains—the missing November and early December issues of the paper may yet turn up. Should this come to pass, history will be enriched by additional hidden chapters of that dark era.

## WHO REALLY SHOT BOOTH?

The orthodox version that John Wilkes Booth was shot by Boston Corbett, an eccentric sergeant who later landed in an insane asylum, has long been the subject of controversies. Corbett, as is well known, claimed he had done the shooting against distinct orders to the contrary, but his voluntary admission stands practically unsupported. My justification for re-

opening this discussion is the existence of two letters, written by Corbett himself. One of them recently has come into my hands; the other has been published before, but seems to have been given little attention.

In order to appraise the problem, it is well to visualize the scene at Garrett's tobacco shed after Booth's pursuers had closed in on him. It is after midnight and perfectly dark. In the center of our historical stage stands the little wooden building in which Lincoln's assassin has taken refuge. Around it are lined up twenty-five Union troopers under the nominal command of Lieutenant Edward P. Doherty, of the 16th New York Cavalry, but actually under the leadership of ex-Lieutenant Colonel Everton J. Conger, with Lieutenant Luther B. Baker acting as his aide. The soldiers, most of whom are so-called deadbeats, that is real or shamming invalids, and convalescents from various regiments, have been gathered in a hurry and are on the point of exhaustion. They have surrounded the fugitive on three sides, and are drawn up behind a line thirty feet from the shed, which they are not to approach. Boston Corbett, the only other trooper belonging to the 16th New York Cavalry, stands in the rear of the little structure. Conger has taken a position on the left side, and has placed Baker opposite the front door. A lighted candle has been put near the door to illuminate the exit.

A short parley fails; the shed is put to the torch, and the flames are spreading. Booth, who has sworn that he will not be taken alive, and has proposed to fight it out, is limping toward the door. At this moment a shot is fired; the bullet enters the assassin's neck on the right side, wounding him mortally. When Baker hears the shot, he unlocks the door and is the first to reach the dying man, who is carried to the porch of the Garrett home, where he expires a few hours later.

Who fired the fatal shot? Any of the twenty-five troopers, including Lieutenant Doherty and Corbett, could have done it. So could Baker, Conger, or Booth himself. Which one was it?

So far as the soldiers were concerned, all of them, except Corbett, asserted that they had obeyed orders, had not crossed the thirty-foot deadline, had not fired the shot. Since no one ever contradicted them, we may dismiss them from further consideration, as we may also Lieutenant Doherty, who had been sulking in the background, indignant that Conger had usurped his command. This leaves us with four suspects: Lieutenant Baker, Boston Corbett, Booth, and Lieutenant Colonel Conger.

The case against Lieutenant Baker rests on the fact that he was closer to Booth than anyone else. Being the first to rush in, he might have pressed a pistol against the actor's neck and pulled the trigger before anyone else could have entered to witness his act. There are several valid arguments, however, against this supposition. Baker's own testimony puts him outside the shed at the time he heard the shot, and this statement is corroborated by John William Garrett, one of the farm boys, who swore two years later that he had been standing next to Baker at that moment.<sup>11</sup> It also seems improbable that Baker could have done the shooting unobserved, for the light of the flames was shining on Booth, and he was the focus of attention. What convinced me most, however, was Baker's private account, written exclusively for his children, which I was allowed to read in 1936, while visiting his son, Luther H. Baker, in Lansing, Michigan. This account tallies closely with the sworn statement the young officer had made in 1867, and in my opinion exonerates him completely.

The next suspect I am inclined to eliminate is Boston Corbett. His own assertion that he killed Booth has only the doubtful support of a twelve-year-old boy who wrote his recollections twenty-two years after the event and who, moreover, contradicts Corbett in several particulars.<sup>12</sup> If we are to believe that Corbett killed Booth, we must assume that he scored an

<sup>11</sup> John Harrison Surratt, *defendant, Trial of John H. Surratt* (Washington, D. C., 1867), I: 305; also *Confederate Veteran Magazine*, April, 1921.

<sup>12</sup> See the account of the Rev. Dr. R. B. Garrett in Hamilton Gay Howard, *Civil-War Echoes: Character Sketches and State Secrets* (Washington, D. C., 1907), 96-100.



almost perfect hit with a pistol through a crack in the wall from a distance of thirty feet. It would have been an extremely lucky shot. A sarcastic remark made by Conger at the time indicates that he, too, thought so, for when Corbett asserted that he had been "directed by God" to shoot Booth, Conger said, "I guess He did, or you couldn't have hit Booth through that crack in the barn."<sup>13</sup>

Of course, Corbett might have crept close to the building, in violation of orders, and held his pistol against the crack, but then he would have been visible to the other soldiers against the background of the fire; yet none saw him there, although it must be admitted that some of them probably were fast asleep. Even so, it is hard to understand how Corbett, from where he stood, could have hit the assassin anywhere but in the back, unless the victim turned his head suddenly and unexpectedly.

In the light of this nebulous evidence, the letters to which I referred before may be of interest. The first was written by Corbett about two weeks after Booth's death and addressed to S. B. Harrington, of Hudson County, New Jersey, from whose autograph collection it was obtained. I am quoting it herewith in full:

Lincoln Barracks  
Washington D. C.  
May 11th 1865

Mr. Harrington

Dear Sir

In Answer to Your request I would Say that Booth was Shot on the Morning of the 26th of April 1865 Near Port Royal. Virginia at which place we Crossed the Rappahannock in Pursuit. He lived but a Short time after he was Shot, Perhaps 3 hours, and at or about Seven O'clock that Morning he died.

Yours Truly  
Boston Corbett.

Sergt, Co L. 16th N. Y. Cavalry

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<sup>13</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, "The Capture, Death, and Burial of J. Wilkes Booth," *McClure's Magazine*, May, 1897, p. 582.

Lincoln Barracks  
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he was shot, Perhaps 3 hours  
and at or about Seven O'clock  
that morning he died.

Yours Truly  
Boston. Corbett.

Sergt. Co. G. 16<sup>th</sup> N.Y. Cavalry

EARLIER OF THE TWO BOSTON CORBETT LETTERS

In these letters the eccentric sergeant failed to claim that it was he who  
shot John Wilkes Booth in the Garrett barn near Port Royal, Virginia.

In this epistle Corbett says twice that Booth "was shot," but does not claim to have done the shooting. Six days later, strange to relate, he assumed full responsibility for the deed, when testifying as a witness at the conspiracy trial. Incidentally, he then no longer said he had been prompted by divine inspiration; instead, he declared, "it was time the man was shot."<sup>14</sup>

The second of Corbett's letters was in the possession of Herbert Wells Fay, late custodian of Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, and was published on July 18, 1936, in *Week By Week*. It was written in 1887 at Topeka, Kansas, and contains this remarkable statement: "The tobacco barn was fired by Conger, and Booth could then be seen. A single pistol shot from a Colt's revolver brought him down and the capture was effected."

After the trial, and for some months following, Corbett strutted around the country, lecturing about his deed, yet a few days after the shooting, and again, twenty-odd years later, he did not make any mention of it.

The second letter, it seems to me, is particularly significant. Would a man, whose only noteworthy act was one pistol shot, say, "A single pistol shot from a Colt's revolver brought him down," without emphasizing that he himself had fired it?

With due allowance to the fact that Corbett's statements emanated from a deranged mind, I believe the evidence justifies the conclusion that his intermittent claims to have shot Booth are of doubtful validity.

Booth, the third on our list of suspects, could easily have shot himself when he saw he was trapped and knew that death or capture was inevitable. He carried two revolvers and a carbine; he was seen to drop the carbine as he approached the door, and after he was wounded, Baker twisted a revolver from

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<sup>14</sup> *The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators*, compiled and arranged by Benn Pitman (New York, 1865), 95.

his hand.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the bullet entered his neck from where a right-handed man—Booth was right-handed—would normally have held the weapon. Several factors, however, speak against this possibility. A man committing suicide usually shoots himself in the temple, not in the neck; to explain the neck injury, we would have to assume that he slipped at the decisive moment. Possible? Yes. Probable? No. A man bent on suicide under such circumstances would be quite careful about his mode of procedure. But a more persuasive argument, it seems to me, lies in the absence of powder marks on the neck, such as would have resulted from a shot fired from so close by. Neither the surgeon who examined Booth, nor any other witness, spoke of such tell-tale powder marks, although the assassin was the cynosure of many curious eyes that morning and in the days to come. Some of these examinations were made in broad daylight, and by men who were well acquainted with shot wounds.

Another point should not be overlooked. Booth, vain-glorious as he was, would likely have chosen the more spectacular of the two final exits open to him. To fall in a fight against heavy odds certainly would invite heartier plaudits than commonplace self-destruction.

There is still more convincing proof that Booth did not shoot himself; both his revolvers were found fully loaded.<sup>16</sup> This fact could have been established on the spot, but if it was, Conger naturally would not disclose it until the necessity for upholding his suicide theory had disappeared. And if my thesis is correct, this necessity existed.

There remains the case against Conger, and I think it is a strong one. He had taken his stand on one side of the barn, although as leader of the expedition his proper place was at the front door, through which Booth had to emerge. Instead, he left this post to his subordinate, Lieutenant Baker. Why? I

<sup>15</sup> *House Report No. 7*, 40 Congress, I Session, 1867, p. 481.

<sup>16</sup> Ben. Perley Poore, ed., *The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of the President* . . . (Boston, 1865), I:319.



can think of no sound motive, unless he wanted to be where he could kill Booth without arousing attention. For Booth had to be killed before he could talk. What would it have availed his superiors to gag the minor members of his gang, so long as its captain could be questioned? And questioned he would have been on his way to Washington; whatever gagging was contemplated after his arrival, would come too late.

At first glance it may appear that Conger's remark to Corbett is a point in his favor; but one may also construe it as an expression of disappointment. Against Corbett's startling assertion that it was he who had fired the shot, Conger was helpless, unless he claimed the shot as his own, and he could hardly do that in view of the official order, which he had stressed to the soldiers, that Booth had to be brought back alive.

Conger was the only one in the pursuing party who was in the confidence of Colonel Lafayette C. Baker, the head of the secret service, and that officer, in turn, was in the confidence of Secretary of War Stanton. If anyone had been given secret instructions to close Booth's lips, it was Conger. But had such instructions been given?

Curiously enough, Lieutenant Baker thought they had; he also thought they had been carried out, to judge from what he testified under oath two years later.

"I supposed, at the time," he said, "that Conger shot him. . . . Then the idea flashed on my mind that if he did, it had better not be known."<sup>17</sup> What else could Baker have meant, but that Conger was the guilty party, and that his instructions were of a kind the War Department wanted to keep secret?

A shot from where Conger stood would have hit Booth where it did, on the right side; if he had aimed at the assassin's temple, as may be presumed, it is understandable that he missed his moving target by a few inches in the flickering light of a burning building.

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<sup>17</sup> *House Report No. 7, 40 Congress, I Session, 1867, p. 481.*

After the shooting Conger acted suspiciously. He kept trying to convince Baker that Booth had committed suicide, by pointing out that "he [Booth] had the appearance of a man who had put a pistol to his head and shot himself." Baker resolutely refused to fall in with this suggestion, and Conger became quite peeved.

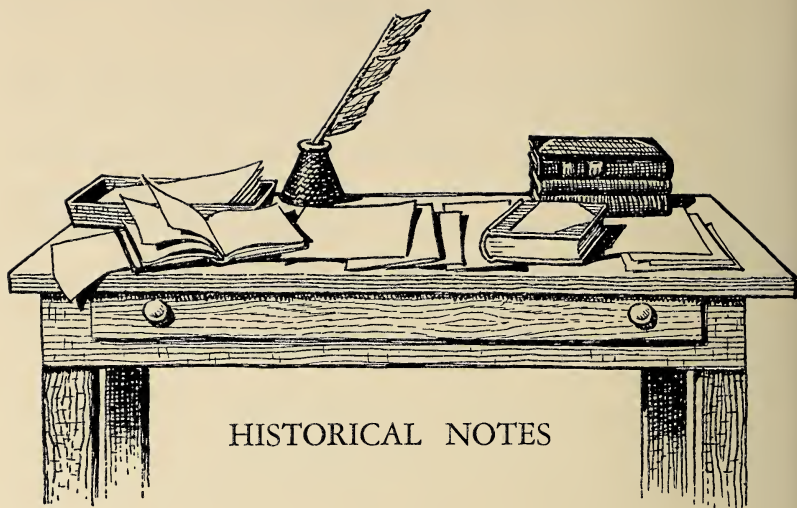
"I thought it a little strange, rather," he said plaintively, "as if he doubted my word."<sup>18</sup> Which is exactly what Baker did.

When Conger's insistence that the actor's death was due to suicide failed to convince Baker, good fortune in the person of an egocentric sergeant stepped into the breach; but if Corbett's self-accusation was an unexpected stroke of luck for his higher-ups, he himself, probably to his great surprise, also fared well through his confession. Instead of being taken back to Washington in irons, as the orders read, instead of being court-martialed, as he should have been, he was honorably discharged, due to Stanton's personal intervention, and in addition was rewarded by the gift of a government-owned horse. Conger, by the way, also did quite well for himself; his share in the reward for Booth's capture amounted to \$15,000.

To summarize: It is my personal belief that Booth was shot by Lieutenant Colonel Conger, acting under secret orders from the War Department; that if matters had been permitted to take their natural course, the crippled assassin would inevitably and without great efforts have fallen into his hands a few moments later, and that this contingency had to be avoided at all hazards.

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<sup>18</sup> *Trial of John H. Surratt*, I:308.



## HISTORICAL NOTES

### MULE-TEAM TRIP TO KANSAS IN 1876

The following account of a mule-team trip from Shelby County, Illinois, to Kansas in 1876, was written by Alfred W. Lindley in October, 1931. The death of Alfred's father had left the family in circumstances which necessitated their going to Kansas to take up government land. As the eldest boy in a large family, he drove the lead mule team. But Alfred did not stay in Kansas. "Illinois," he says, "had an especial attraction for me." He returned the following spring and was married in October, 1877. Alfred W. Lindley had a long career of school teaching, farming, and banking and lived to be eighty-four. This paper was sent to us by his son, Judge Walter C. Lindley, of Danville:

We left Big Spring Township, Shelby County, Illinois, the eleventh day of September, 1876. As I was the oldest boy, I drove the lead mule team, a young team—we might say that they were barely broken to work. However, they were shy and not yet familiar with the driver, especially one of them, for when I went to bridle it, before I had succeeded in getting the bridle over its ears (it had outlandish ears) I found myself sprawling on the ground, and after

one or two attempts with the same result, I conceived the idea of snapping the bit into the halter rings. I let one mule make the whole trip in that manner, and was glad it could flop its ears without involving me.

My brother James had a well broken team, and with him, in the second covered wagon, were my mother and her two little daughters, Margaret and Mary, and all of my brothers with us, younger than myself, except Fletcher, who was with

me in the front. These other brothers were John, Horace, Fletcher, and Erasmus. In my wagon there was not room for many boys, as I had all of the household goods and personal effects of the family. There were nine living boys in the family at that time, and while all of them were not with us, we had over half of the bunch. James had only to follow Fletcher and myself. However, his task was not without its trials, for he had to account for his younger brothers who invariably insisted on walking when we came to a city of any size. They wanted to explore the towns and see the sights, and we found that after passing through a town it was a good plan to check up and see if we had the right number.

As I said, not all of the boys were with us. We had left Charles behind to look after mowing some wheat in Illinois. He lived with one of our present Neoga citizens, Mr. Charles Chappalear. However, James had his hands full looking after his other younger brothers. As we were leaving a city in Kansas, my mother asked, "where is Horace?" As he was not with me, I at once handed the lines to Fletcher—by this time the wild mule had become more decent—and going back four or five blocks I found Horace running from one street to another, whirling around and looking in every direction. I need not say that he was glad to see me. However, we made the trip without the loss of anything except our dog, which we lost in Kansas City.

We had delightful weather, no rain except a slight one after we

reached the state of Kansas. We found many excellent camping groves. There was much more timber along the streams than there is today. We camped the first night in Shelby County, east of Shelbyville. The next morning Mother Earth was covered with a white frost. Jack Frost, as a rule, has been more favorable to us in this vicinity.

Mother knew how scarce our funds were. She had said on the way that if we bought all of our own bread our funds would disappear before we reached the city in Missouri to which my brother Frank (who was teaching school in Sigel, Illinois) was to send us some of his salary. But Mother had the knack of taking some corn meal, a few eggs, some buttermilk or sour milk, and a little lard or butter, and making as palatable a corn cake as was ever eaten by mortal beings. Why should she not be efficient? Think of making corn cakes for nine boys, two little girls and herself! She would ask me to obtain the ingredients above mentioned, and I gladly agreed. I knew what the result would be. It was no trouble to obtain the meal, and eggs were twelve to fifteen cents per dozen, mostly, sometimes only ten cents. Farmers were very courteous, considering the large number of people at that time western bound, and we moved along very nicely and pleasantly after the arrangement for corn cakes.

We ferried the Mississippi River at Alton, Illinois, the Missouri River near Boonville. At Alton I thought my wild mule would hold our heavily loaded wagon back before going on



the boat or break his neck trying; but the declivity was very steep, and he was on the boat before he knew it. Then I, while watching his pranks, suggested to my brother Fletcher that he had better go to James's wagon, as the mules he was driving were quiet and not much excited. This wild mule had me in a sort of quandry. Ours was the last team on the boat, and there was just room for us across one end. The mules' heads reached over the railing of the boat, and I thought the wild one was going to jump overboard. I think, however, that he concluded he was between the devil and the deep blue sea, as he did not jump. We landed safely on the other side of the river.

The Missouri soil was very rich in the valleys and between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The cornfields were immense. We saw many fine looking farms in Missouri, and the farmers offered a ready market for their oats and corn to the many travelers western bound. Occasionally, however, we found some difficulty in obtaining feed for our teams. But as a rule the farmers were very courteous and accommodating, and we met with little trouble.

One evening, however, just after we had camped in the timber along a creek in Missouri, several men on horseback came riding through the timber and passed very near us. I noticed that they took a very searching look at the mule teams. In a few moments, a farmer living near by came along and told us there had been some horses stolen where we were camping just a night or two be-

fore. He said he did not wish to frighten us but that we might drive up to his barnyard if we wished. My mother thought we had better hitch up and move. We boys debated with her. I remarked that there was one mule that no stranger would ever get hold of after night without trouble. We had an old army musket, which I always set out at the side of the wagon when we camped. The only ammunition we had, however, was a box of caps. And so we moved up that night to the farmer's barnyard.

I remember he had very neat farm buildings, nicely located. He had also a fine herd of milk cows and gave my mother a liberal supply of milk, mostly buttermilk, of good grade. I never saw that farmer again. I remember only that his name was Jones, and now feel that he must be basking in the fair light of heaven. We left his farm next morning with light hearts and our trip thereafter seemed more cheerful. That was fifty-five years ago.

We reached Cloud County, Kansas, on October 8. The country was new; crops were abundant; the land was very fertile. I traded the mule team I drove for eighty acres of land, and my brother James owns the same eighty today with other land. It is in the valley of a small creek, and upon it he has raised many abundant crops of wheat, corn, and alfalfa. At that date, my mother's father, John W. Wilson, and two of her brothers, Christopher (Kit) and Frank, were living on farms in the vicinity. The land was new and the buildings were crude, as a rule. My Uncle Frank

Wilson had succeeded in building a new stone residence and a stone barn, and within a few miles in every direction new buildings were being started. We, however, had no money left, after making the trip, to build a house—scarcely enough to buy food. But my uncle, was very kind. He had a large acreage of good corn. It was cheap, and my uncle gave us boys a contract to husk the corn and he gave us one-fifth of the corn we husked as payment. We soon had a crib full.

There were four of us large enough to husk: John, James, Horace, and myself. Now we had plenty of corn and had located in a sod house on my uncle's farm and were settled for the winter, except that we had no barn or shelter for the mules that James had driven from Illinois. As it was a good, gentle team, and one that had been in the family for some time, we wished to protect them from the cold winds of Kansas. It was the only team we boys had been able to save from those of our father's. All had been under chattel mortgage. Now around this sod house there was a patch of sunflowers, twelve or fifteen feet high. From the stalks we made a good, warm shelter for the mules.

The next step was to obtain some fuel. I, myself, was to finish out a term of the public school, which was then closed—I do not remember why. I do remember, however, that one evening, after we had had a Kansas northwester, James was late arriving home with a load of coal. It had turned cold suddenly that evening and James found that he had a frozen

foot, or at least partly frozen. However, he did not say much about it but said that he was glad that the mules had a warm shelter and were well housed. . . .

We lived in the sod house or dug-out through the winter months—and good, solid, cold, winter months they were. But the sod house, though it had only a dirt floor, was very comfortable, if not very artistic. However, in April, my mother was glad to move out of it to eighty acres on a neighbor's homestead claim on which he had built a small stone building with fine flooring. It was not very large and had only a temporary roof, but Mother appreciated the floors after her experiences with the sod house. This eighty acres joined on one end the eighty acres that I had traded one mule team for. It took the major part of funds I had received for the three months term of school to pay for it. It was not nearly as good land as the valley land I had traded for. It was hilly, good only for pasture, but the home was on it and Mother was happy. The 160 acres were paid for and she had only to wait a short time to obtain title from the government. The valley land was more fertile than the land she had been compelled to leave in Illinois. . . .

I am surprised at myself writing so much about this trip,—this trip of two mule teams from Illinois to Kansas. I will only add that I returned to Illinois in the spring. Illinois had an especial attraction for me. I was married the following October. ALFRED W. LINDLEY,

October 13, 1931.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Abraham Lincoln By Some Men Who Knew Him.* Edited by Paul M. Angle.  
(Americana House: Chicago, 1950. Pp. 123. \$7.50.)

Originally published in 1909, this work, for many years now, has been a collector's item. Consequently collectors of Lincolniana will welcome this new edition, particularly since it contains significant notes and a foreword by Paul M. Angle. The book is composed of five personal recollections of younger contemporaries of Abraham Lincoln. The Hon. Isaac N. Phillips, who wrote the introduction for and edited the original edition, which is here reprinted, also supplies a brief biographical sketch of each of the five contributors. Three of the reminiscences were delivered as speeches to commemorate the centenary of Lincoln's birth. Two were essays written at the request of Editor Phillips. Each of the contributors was a man of the highest personal integrity. Each knew Lincoln during those last critical years of his life as a lawyer and a leader of the Whig and Republican parties in Illinois. None claims to have been intimate with Lincoln, but each knew him as aspiring young men know an older person of established reputation. Their meetings with him were in the ordinary, normal course of daily living.

Collectively, these five reminiscences leave the reader with a fine composite portrait of Abraham Lincoln. In their diverse connections with him, these men saw him as a kindly, thoughtful person whose relationships were easy and friendly. They portray him as a man of great dignity, as a man of fine courtesy and well mannered. Each emphasizes that Lincoln was the acknowledged leader and center of the groups of which he was a part. Each considers attempts to make Lincoln an uncouth, ill-at-ease, unmannerly, backwoods buffoon as nonsense and such portrayals as rubbish. There is a quiet sincerity to their honest and unembellished observations. They reveal nothing startling; add nothing to our knowledge of the political life of the

times or to our awareness of the complicated public events which had Abraham Lincoln at their center.

Despite minor errors which are certainly forgiven old men recalling events sixty years past, and with a restrained purposefulness becoming in old men, these essayists make a significant contribution, for they portray Abraham Lincoln as they knew him. The five seem to have derived their motivation from the same simple source—that of rescuing Abraham Lincoln from his eulogists and detractors. To this, your reviewer says a hearty “amen.”

*Illinois College.*

JOE PATTERSON SMITH.

*Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829.* By Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr. (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1950. Pp. xi, 288. \$3.50.)

Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., associate professor of history at the University of Illinois, presents the first part of a thorough account of “communitarian socialism” in the United States. The volume here reviewed is about the early sectarian communities—like those of the Labadists, Ephratans, Rappites, and Shakers—and the Owenite communities, chief of which was New Harmony, Indiana. The book touches briefly upon Illinois history because of the connections between the English settlement of Birkbeck and Flower at Wanborough and Albion and of Robert Owen at New Harmony, twenty-odd miles away on the Wabash River.

This is a scholarly study, synthesized from an exhaustive examination of the original sources. It replaces all earlier accounts of American “communitarianism,” so far as it treats of the reasons for the origin, development, and fall of individual communities, and places each of them, and the movement as a whole, in the stream of social history. To this reviewer, though, the book lacks human interest; it is compactly written, and coolly detached and objective in its treatment of a movement that aroused the hopes and ambitions of individual men and women, and which succeeded or failed, at least in the short run, as personalities determined. Professor Bestor himself proves this point when he shows that it was largely because of the vanity, procrastination, and lack of singleness of purpose of Robert Owen himself that the great experiment upon which he had lavished a fortune failed. The fascinating personalities of Johann Conrad Beissel, Father George Rapp, William Maclure, Madame Marie Fretageot, to mention only a few of the participants in communitarianism, are only briefly discussed, although their social ideas are fully explained. And yet this book is a much needed corrective to the story of the communitarian movement because it has so often



been told in sentimental and romantic terms. The interested reader may find leads to the human interest of the subject through the very detailed bibliography presented with critical commentary.

Perhaps Bestor's most significant contributions are: (a) His championship of "communitarianism"—a term that was used in the 1840's—rather than "communism," because the heart of the movement was the community. Besides, the word emphasizes how worlds apart are Shakerism, Owenism, and Fourierism from Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism; (b) His clear exposition of communitarianism as a vital force in the predominantly agrarian economy of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries; (c) His proof of the continuity in America, unlike in Europe, of religious socialism and the nonsectarian socialism of Owen and Fourier. Bestor shows that the former evolved into movements for social reform, as well as for religious expression, by the time Robert Owen came to the United States; (d) His explanation of the educational innovations at New Harmony as the work of William Maclure more than of Owen; (e) His demonstration that Owen's experiment at New Harmony was sound in principle, but weakly and improvidently managed by Owen himself; (f) His careful tracing of the rise and fall of the many communities inspired by or associated with Owen. In an appendix is a list, probably as nearly complete as it is possible to make, of all the communitarian experiments in the United States, including those inspired by Fourier, down to 1858.

*Backwoods Utopias* establishes Professor Bestor's pre-eminence as an authority on early American socialism. It is to be hoped that his second volume will appear soon. This will be of special interest to Illinoisans because it is to include accounts of the Bishop Hill Colony and the Icarian community at Nauvoo.

MacMurray College.

WALTER B. HENDRICKSON.

*White Pine Days on the Taquamenon.* By William Davenport Hulbert. (The Historical Society of Michigan: Lansing, 1949. Pp. 152.)

William Davenport Hulbert (1868-1913) spent much of his early life on the northern peninsula of Michigan where his family was interested in lumbering and he himself observed a good deal of the wild existence of the woods. Prevented by an attack of infantile paralysis from leading an active physical life, Hulbert turned to writing and followed up contributions to the *Chicago Record* with stories and sketches in such periodicals as *Outing*, *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, and the *Metropolitan Magazine*. An early book, *Forest Neighbors*, won wide recognition. The present volume includes eight tales reprinted from various magazines and one unpublished story,

"Two Timber Cruisers." Since the collection was subsidized by Hulbert's brothers and sisters, it is a kind of family memorial.

Hulbert knew and liked his subject, human and animal existence in the Michigan woods, so that his stories have the ring of authenticity. He describes the Taquamenon drive, the work of timber cruisers, bunkhouse meals and customs, the breaking-up of a log jam, the life history of a single pine. His characters are simple people who know their business, land-lookers, sawyers, teamsters, trappers, top-loaders. River and forest scenes at various seasons of the year constitute the background, and observed incidents supply the slight narrative thread.

One can enjoy this book without being profoundly impressed by it. Hulbert was not as sentimental and romantic a writer as his fellow Michigan author, Stewart Edward White; and he lacked White's command of language, his scene-painting ability, and his expository completeness. Hulbert's work is tenuous and underdeveloped, rather amateurish in its uncertainty and slightness. The claim that Lewis Beeson makes for him in an introductory essay as a potentially great nature writer is unconvincing. Here certainly was no Thoreau or Burroughs, tragically made mute in his early maturity. Yet anyone who loves the northern forests will find Hulbert's tales readable. Their most enduring charm is a kind of nostalgia for bygone days.

*University of Illinois.*

JOHN T. FLANAGAN.

*Captain Sam Grant.* By Lloyd Lewis. (Little Brown & Company: Boston, 1950. Pp. 512. \$6.00.)

Here it is. For over twenty years the author studied and planned for this volume. When working on his classic book, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet*, Lloyd Lewis used to say that Grant stole the show from Sherman in incident after incident. Something in the personality of Grant held the writer's interest through the entire stormy career of William Tecumseh Sherman. Something in his character tugged, magnet-like, on the strings of Lewis' affection. Before he finished writing about Sherman he decided to do this book on Grant.

Lloyd Lewis noticed in the records that West Point graduates who were assigned to Grant's staff at first scoffed at the stubby little general in the mussed uniform but after a few days' association with him admitted, in spite of themselves, that they imitated the general's mannerisms, copied his colloquial speech—in short, all but worshiped him. In *Captain Sam Grant* the shabby general rides again, life-like as can be, first on a road horse through the Ohio countryside, later on a charger jumping barriers at West

Point, next in the Mexican War racing Indian-fashion through flying bullets, and finally a bent and discouraged man, stumbling sedately beside his wagon, hauling wood into St. Louis.

The outline of this unhappy progression has been told sketchily by other writers, but Lloyd Lewis has dived deeper into more sparkling springs of knowledge than previous researchers. He has come up with a tingling tale of U. S. Grant's development. Adversity steeled Grant's heart instead of breaking it. From misfortune he learned patience, tolerance, and humility—prime requisites of that strange thing called character. No other historian has probed this story so thoroughly and so convincingly.

J. M.

*Letters from Lloyd Lewis Showing Steps in the Research for His Biography of U. S. Grant. With an Introduction by Robert Maynard Hutchins.* (Little Brown & Company: Boston, 1950. Pp. 83. \$1.00.)

Lloyd Lewis planned adding two or three volumes to *Captain Sam Grant*, thus completing a definitive biography. Much of the research was complete but Lewis' death ended the project. In the letters printed in this book he gives the highlights of the interpretation of Grant which would have appeared had the work been completed—tasty tidbits of the rare feast he was preparing.

"Grant really was ordinary looking—like Truman," Lloyd Lewis wrote the publisher, "he looked like Mr. America." In another letter he says,

Always the businessman—as ex-President [Grant] sat around his Wall Street office talking to friends about the market and investments, not about Vicksburg—thought he was a hell of a businessman. The young officer in Mexico, still—proud of his acumen but letting thieves steal his cash.

The letter describing the dramatic termination Lloyd Lewis proposed for his last volume is classic:

Curiously, the night [Grant] dies hell breaks loose—thunder as loud as Vicksburg rocks the mountain, eight people at the railroad station are knocked down by lightning, a bolt hits close by the cottage, rips off shingles and burns out the electric light that shines on his dead face.

That last should end the book—end in thunder. . . . It should end with the whole nation registering, in its grievful messages to him the unity which he fought for and wanted really bad; with his last stand a signal for the expressions of both North and South. Peace had come, but Nature to which he was better attuned than to Man, gives him its own private salute—firing all the guns it has.

Did any historian except Lloyd Lewis ever write letters like these to his publisher?

J. M.

*The Illinois Wesleyan Story, 1850-1950.* By Elmo Scott Watson. (Illinois Wesleyan University Press: Bloomington, 1950. Pp. xix, 276. \$5.00.)

*To All Whom It May Concern:*

Be it known that at the city of Bloomington in the County of McLean and State of Illinois, on the twenty-third day of September, A.D. One Thousand eight hundred and fifty, we the undersigned James C. Finley, James Miller, James Allin, John F. McClun, John Magoun, William C. Hobbs, Thomas Magee, Charles P. Merriman, Ezekiel Thomas, Thomas P. Rogers, Linus Graves, Peter Cartwright, James F. Jaquess, William J. Rutledge, Calvin W. Lewis, James Leaton, John Van Cleve, Silas Watters, Isaac Funk, David Trimmer, John S. Barger, C. M. Holliday, W. D. R. Trotter, W. H. Allin, William Wallace, W. H. Holmes, J. W. Ewing, Lewis Bunn, Kersey H. Fell, Reuben Andrus . . . have associated ourselves together as trustees . . . for the purpose of permanently establishing . . . an institution of learning of collegiate grade. . . .

Thus reads the "birth certificate" of Illinois Wesleyan University, which this year is added to the growing list of 100-year-old colleges that have helped to make the Prairie State. Professor Watson tells the story of these thirty "founding fathers"—lawyers, doctors, farmers, teachers, preachers, merchants, mechanics—drawn to the West from Vermont, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, and other states, and from England and Ireland. Here are Quakers from Pennsylvania and Presbyterians from New Jersey, for although Methodist-sponsored, Illinois Wesleyan was "without sectarian bias." One can find names prominent in the economic and public life of Illinois. Here is Isaac Funk, \$8.00-a-month farm hand who amassed a fortune as progressive agriculturist and stockman. Or one can find social extremes: Peter Cartwright, picturesque product of the frontier, and William C. Hobbs, "effete" Marylander, a social *arbiter elegantiarum* in frontier Bloomington, who objected to the nomination of Lincoln for President because he lacked "the courtly style and severe dignity requisite for that high office," and who died "leaving no enemies, a good many debts, and 27 satin vests."

The author, like the reviewer, may have been tempted to tarry a bit too long with the founders. The bulk of the volume, which reads pleasantly, is devoted, however, to the academic and financial vicissitudes and victories of the school centered around the lives and work of its presidents, especially Oliver S. Munsell (and his brother C. W. C. Munsell, faithful financial agent), who brought the school through difficult years (1856-1873), and his successors—Adams, Wilder, Smith, Barnes, Kemp, Davidson, McPherson, Brooks, Shaw, and Holmes. A chapter is given to Major John Wesley Powell, Civil War veteran, professor of natural science, who popularized the field trip method of study, took Wesleyan students and faculty members on



explorations in the Farther West, and achieved national recognition as explorer and scientist. The author notes briefly such prominent alumni as Senator Scott W. Lucas, ex-Governor Joseph Fifer, Bishop Joseph Culver Hartzell, and others.

Interwoven with matters of financial history, academic expansion, the advent of the co-eds (1870), the gradual spread of the campus and the erection of new buildings, wartime problems through four wars, and other features common to the pattern of academic development is the panorama of student life, always changing; ever the same. But students themselves noted the growing tendency to "organize." In 1888, the *Avenger* commented on Wesleyan's reputation as a quiet school, and added:

But the prospects are that things will be rather lively during the spring term. There are now three papers published, . . . five secret societies, three literary societies, two parliamentary societies, . . . an Oratorical Association, a fire department, an athletic association, a chess club, a Y.M. and a Y.W.C.A., three quartettes, a practicing orchestra, a republican club, prohibition club, and a janitor, all of which tend to make things lively.

As the twentieth century began, organizations did not decline in number but they changed in character: oratory gave way to athletics. Illinois Wesleyan had introduced inter-collegiate football in the Midwest and won early victories over Northwestern and the University of Illinois. The depression turned back the clock to frontier devices. President McPherson announced that students unable to pay cash might meet their bills in farm produce. Boys appeared with truck loads of potatoes and corn. And the Second World War brought a more serious note to student life and thought.

Illinois Wesleyan drew its early students from the farms of McLean and neighboring counties. As years passed its patronage and influence spread to farther circles, but it still has deep roots in the rich soil of central Illinois. It is a community institution. Its annals of a hundred years have been faithfully recorded by the *Pantagraph* as the footnotes of this worthy history show.

*Illinois State Historical Library*

MARY WATTERS.

*Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945. A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States.* Prepared by the Bureau of the Census with the co-operation of the Social Science Research Council. (Govt. Printing Office: Washington, D. C., 1949. Pp. 363. \$2.50.)

This storehouse of information has a twofold purpose:

*First*, to bring together, for the convenience of users of statistics the historical series of wide general interest; and *second*, to provide, through

brief descriptive text and precise source notes, a guide to the types of historical data available, so as to inform the user where further data can be obtained.

*Historical Statistics* does bring together approximately 3,000 statistical series. Data are shown for each year, extending back to 1789, or for the earliest year for which the information was available. This is, in a sense, a source book of economic statistics—a history of statistics, mostly in tabular form. The book is not a source of historical information except as revealed in figures.

The collections of data are grouped into fourteen chapters: Wealth and income; population characteristics and migration; vital statistics, health, and nutrition; labor force, wages, and working conditions; agriculture; land, forestry, and fisheries; minerals and power; construction and housing; manufactures; transportation; price indexes; balance of payments and foreign trade; banking and finance; government.

Preceding the collection of "data" in each chapter are several pages of "text" that give the source of the statistics and explanatory information. A good subject index makes this mine of information easily available.

The volume is the third supplement to the statistical abstract publications. *County Data Book*, significant economic data for every county in the United States, was published in 1947. A *Cities Supplement* appeared in 1944.

S. A. W.

*The Lincoln Story.* As Told by Chester R. Shook. (Berman Printing Company: Cincinnati, Ohio, 1950. Pp. 140.)

From prolonged study of Abraham Lincoln's life to writing a book about him seems a natural and inevitable step. Judge Shook, a Cincinnati lawyer, is described as "a disciple as well as a student" of Lincoln's life. With remarkable insight the Judge sees in Lincoln the embodiment of integrity, the incarnation of the democratic spirit, and he considers that Lincoln's pre-eminent accomplishment was as a master of the art of expression. This is a very keen appraisal, indeed.

The chapters of this book have been given, in substance, as addresses before a variety of groups and organizations. No new material is presented, but the story is told again, with sound emphasis. The book is attractively printed and bound, and tastefully illustrated by Paul G. Bogosian.

There is one serious error on page six, however, where we are told that in the 1858 campaign for the Senate Lincoln received a popular vote of 1,866,452 against 1,375,157 votes for Douglas although Douglas won the election in the legislature. The *total* population of Illinois in 1860 was but 1,711,951.

S. A. W.

*Ohio Newspapers . . . A Living Record.* By Robert C. Wheeler. (The Ohio History Press: Columbus, 1950. Pp. 257. \$6.50.)

For anyone interested in newspapers or history this is a fascinating book. It is practically a picture book but the pictures are facsimiles of newspaper pages which tell their own story. There is only enough text to preserve the continuity and cover the transition from one to another of the twenty-two topics. Listing the number of pages as 257 is a bit misleading, too, because these are "king size" pages—eleven by seventeen inches.

The book begins with the first newspaper in America, *Publick Occurrences*, published in Boston in 1690, and ends with the *Lancaster* (Ohio) *Eagle-Gazette* story on January 10, 1946, of the opening session of the United Nations. Ohio's first newspaper was published in 1793, so the first fifty pages of the book are devoted to papers from farther east.

This near-perfect presentation does have a few shortcomings, however. There are some who will think that the choice of several of the later papers could have been improved—but that is a matter of opinion. Scattered through the text there is a secondary theme: the development of the printing press. This is a fragmentary story, told in pictures, and does little more than distract the reader. And even some junior high school students will be slightly disturbed by the grammatical lapse in the first sentence of the jacket blurb, which says: "This is undoubtedly one of the most unique history books ever published in the United States."

H. F. R.

*The Maryland Germans, a History.* By Dieter Cunz. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, N. J., 1948. Pp. 476. \$5.00.)

Covering, as it does, some three hundred years of change and development, this book contains mention of about two thousand early settlers. This will make it particularly attractive to persons interested in genealogy. And, as an aid to them, it has a complete index, detailed footnotes, eleven pages of bibliography, and a very helpful appendix.

The first German immigrants came to Maryland about 1640 and others have been coming ever since. But, as the author says, they were not an exciting lot. They were stanch supporters of the Revolutionary War—principally because they didn't like to pay taxes to the Church of England. They backed the Union cause during the Civil War and this was important because they surrounded Washington. But it was not until World War I that the final ties with the old country were broken. *The Maryland Germans* covers the development of the section from Baltimore to Cumberland thoroughly—naming practically everyone who had anything to do with it. And many of their descendants came to Illinois later.

H. F. R.



## TYPICAL THEN AND NOW

The blockhouse in the Indian Summer scene on our front cover would, perhaps, have been typical of several Illinois settlements in the early 1800's—Fort Armstrong, Fort Massac, or Fort Dearborn. And it is certainly representative of the restored blockhouses in several sections of Illinois now. This particular one is in Matthiessen State Park, La Salle County near Oglesby.

## AUTUMN MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The 1950 annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society will be held in Mt. Vernon, Illinois, on October 20 and 21. The headquarters will be the Hotel Emerson, and J. Lester Buford is chairman of the local committee.

Among the speakers will be Dr. Andy Hall, the American Medical Association's 1950 "Physician of the Year." His subject will be, "Early Physicians in Southern Illinois." Dr. Delyte W. Morris, president of Southern Illinois University, will discuss "Southern Illinois University—Its Past and Future."

A tour of historic spots in and around Mt. Vernon will be taken. Full details of this fall meeting will be mailed direct to members. It is hoped that many of you will be able to attend.

## BARRETT LINCOLN COLLECTION AT THE CHICAGO FAIR

An unusual attraction at the 1950 Chicago Fair this summer was the Lincoln exhibit of items from the famous collection of the late Oliver R. Barrett (see page 171). So great was the public's interest in the display,



which was housed in a railway baggage car near the Twenty-fifth Street entrance, that it surprised Lincoln scholars and collectors.

Since the space was limited and only a small part of the vast Barrett collection could be shown, an effort was made to use brief writings, whose meaning could be readily grasped and appreciated, and articles directly associated with Lincoln. One interesting item in the display was the manuscript Lincoln prepared for the publication of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Another was an original copy of the Thirteenth Amendment signed by Lincoln, Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, and members of Congress. Then there were twenty-seven letters in Lincoln's handwriting—to Mary Todd Lincoln, Joshua Speed, William H. Herndon, General U. S. Grant, and others.

Among the articles associated with Lincoln were his life mask and right

### CALHOUN COUNTY CONTEST



Seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year (or almost that many) domino players gather in parks and on courthouse lawns throughout Illinois and other Midwestern states. The above typical picture was taken at the Calhoun County courthouse in Hardin where the game is continuous from 10 A.M. to 11 P.M.—under the street lights after dark, and in the winter the players wear gloves. A good game will often attract fifty or more spectators here, and "tournaments" draw even more. At the extreme right is A. D. Fowler, of Springfield and Hardin, who is "father" of the Calhoun County contests. The other players are Frank Hill, Julius Ducep, and John Kraut.

hand cast in bronze by Leonard Volk, the Laws of Illinois for 1842-1843 inscribed by Lincoln, a silver watch which he gave to Dennis Hanks, an axe handle on which is cut "A. Lincoln" and "New Salem 1834."

Some of the other items at the Fair were letters written by Lincoln's three sons, the rare War Department poster offering \$100,000 for the President's assassins, with photographs of Booth, Surratt, and Herold, Civil War recruiting posters, Lincoln photographs, and an oil portrait by William Matthews.

The exhibit was arranged by Newton C. Farr, of Chicago, and David Owen, of Peoria, who head a committee of the Barrett Lincoln Collection Fund Corporation. This organization was formed to secure the collection for the Illinois State Historical Library.

### MEMENTOES FROM THE "MERCY TRAIN"

Many books, toys, and other articles from the French "Mercy Train" have been sent in recent weeks from the Illinois State Historical Library to institutions and libraries all over the state. But there are still a number of souvenirs, figurines, pictures, medals, and knickknacks available for museums or historical organizations which have facilities for exhibiting them. Applications should be addressed to the editor of this *Journal*, who is a member of the committee appointed for their disposal.

More than a hundred books and pamphlets, most of them relating to postwar France, were sent to the French Department of the University of Illinois. A number of brushes and baskets made by blind persons in France went to the Illinois School for the Blind, at Jacksonville. The Peoria Public Library requested typically French articles and received two figurines, a glass-encased miniature crèche, and several French books. Dolls, rubber balls, and other toys went to the Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Children's School at Normal.

Specific instructions accompanied some of the articles and as a result a satin wedding dress was given to Miss Millicent Hill, of Winnetka, and was worn at her marriage, on June 24, to Theodore V. Dudley, of Wilmette, a veteran of World War II who served in France. A note with three silk and satin coverlets specified that they go to veterans of the Red Diamond (Fifth) Division of the U. S. Army. These were awarded at the unit's Labor Day week-end reunion in New York.

### "LINCOLN'S STORE PARTNER"

A story by Fern Nance Pond (Mrs. Henry E.) in the *Petersburg Observer* for July 28, 1950, tells of the resetting, in Rock Creek Cemetery, of

the William F. Berry gravestone. The following is a slightly abridged version of Mrs. Pond's article:

For several years the stone which had marked the grave of Abraham Lincoln's New Salem partner, William F. Berry, has been broken and lying on the ground in Rock Creek Cemetery, near Petersburg. Slowly it became covered with silt. But, due to two friendly historians who are students of Berry's life, that condition no longer exists.

Robert S. Barton, of Massachusetts, son of the noted Lincoln biographer, and Zarel C. Spears, of New York, grandson of William F. Berry's sister, published in 1947 a book entitled, *Berry and Lincoln, Frontier Merchants. The Store that "Winked Out."* Theirs was the first biography of Berry to be written and was the result of long and careful research. Several months ago Mr. Barton and Mr. Spears informed Mrs. Henry E. Pond that they wished to finance the mending and resetting of the gravestone on its original location and asked Mrs. Pond to assist them toward that end.

Chester Messert, of the Petersburg Monumental and Stone Company, was instructed not only to repair the stone and reset it but also to engrave on the reverse side of the slab the words: "Lincoln's Store Partner." This has been done, and the stone has been polished, making it legible and durable for many years to come.

William F. Berry, though obscure when he died on January 10, 1835 (age twenty-four years, two days), is no longer unknown and unsung. Today his name is familiar wherever the name of Lincoln is known. Tourists from far and near drive to the Rock Creek graveyard to visit the final resting place of the store partner who was so important in Lincoln's early life. Mr. Barton and Mr. Spears have made a lasting contribution in permanently marking this historic spot. They deserve and have the appreciation of all those interested in the Lincoln-Berry pioneer period.

### HISTORIC QUINCY MANSION

Quincy's beautiful Southern Colonial mansion, now the home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County and formerly the John Wood house, was not the last residence built by the illustrious cofounder of the city.

In the late 1850's, so the story goes, John Wood, then lieutenant governor, wanted a bigger and finer home. According to the reminiscences of Lorenzo Bull, which are printed in *Past and Present of the City of Quincy and Adams County, Illinois*,<sup>1</sup> when Governor Wood "built the large stone house, he moved the house with the columns across Twelfth street, where it now stands."

His new mansion, said to have thirty rooms, was built of the finest stone available, and the stones were joined with lead instead of mortar. The building was octagonal in shape with a domed cupola (damaged in a tornado

<sup>1</sup> By William H. Collins and Cicero F. Perry (Chicago, 1905), 224.



and since removed) and is reported to have cost about \$250,000. As the mansion was not completed when Wood succeeded Governor Bissell, who died in March, 1860, he did not get to live in his expensive dwelling until 1861. And even then, for some reason, he did not live there the rest of his life.

In 1875, five years before his death, Wood sold the house to Johnson College, previously the Quincy English and German College. (The name had been changed in 1874, when Johnson College, of Macon, Missouri, merged with the Quincy institution.) The college, which bought and occupied the mansion, is said to have paid \$40,000 for it. In 1876, Charles Chaddock gave the school \$24,000 and the college was named after him, but after a few years, because of financial embarrassment, Chaddock College was closed, and for a while the building was not used as an educational institution.

On September 1, 1900, however, Chaddock Boys' School, established and conducted by Methodist Episcopal deaconesses, occupied the Governor Wood mansion. For a number of years the Methodists used the residence for this boys' school, but, in 1919, St. Peter's Catholic Church of Quincy bought the property. Since then it has been used as a parochial school, chapel, convent, and clubhouse.

Early this year the present owner of the historic building, the Catholic Diocese of Springfield, decided to tear it down and sell the land. Now a "Citizens Committee for the Preservation of the Governor Wood Home" has been organized in Quincy to acquire and preserve the property.

### VANDALIA STATEHOUSE DEDICATION

Supreme Court Justice Jesse L. Simpson was the principal speaker at the dedication, Sunday, May 14, of the restored Statehouse at Vandalia. Other speakers included: C. Herrick Hammond, state architect, who told the story of the restoration; Miss Helene H. Rogers, assistant state librarian, who represented Secretary of State Edward J. Barrett; and Earl H. Reed, the architect who had immediate charge of the restoration. Mayor Cliff Rasler, of Vandalia, presided. A memorial wreath was placed upon the "Madonna of the Trails" statue in the old Statehouse grounds by the Greenville chapter of the D. A. R.



The Augustana Historical Society held its annual spring pilgrimage on May 28. The group visited Cambridge and Bishop Hill. A picnic supper was held at Bishop Hill State Park.



Officers of the Aurora Historical Society, chosen at its annual May meeting are: A. J. Meiers, president; Lorin Hill, first vice-president; Mrs. Arthur F. Muschler, second vice-president; Bess Lockhart, secretary; Eleanor Plain, treasurer; Dorothy Simpson, membership secretary. Directors elected for a three-year term include: Mrs. Harold Atwood, Mrs. Ward Downs, L. T. Fowler, Walter Hitzner, Esther Levedahl, John Plain, T. J. Merrill, Ray Stolp, William Schmitt, and Mrs. Harold Newman. Reports were given at this meeting of the Society's activities during the past year.



Modern reproductions of historic fabrics were exhibited at the Chicago Historical Society in May. These silks and printed textiles were lent to the Society by the Scalandre Museum of Textiles in New York City. The materials were used in restoring colonial Williamsburg and other historic places. In June there was an exhibit of photographs of American houses from 1607 to 1950.



Twenty-one landscapes and portraits by Richard Brani, a Chicago artist, were exhibited by the Chicago Lawn Historical Society in May. The pictures were shown at the Chicago Lawn Branch Library.

The Society's annual reunion and tea in April paid tribute to Mrs. Frank J. Richards, honorary president of the group. Mrs. Richards, who retired on May 1, as head librarian of the Chicago Lawn Branch, organized the Society in 1938.

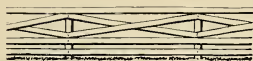


Robert J. Casey spoke on "Lake View Memories" at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Ravenswood-Lake View (Chicago) Historical Association in May.

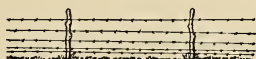
Dr. H. Kenneth Scatliff, president of the Association, presided at the dedication of a monument to the memory of Conrad Sulzer, first white settler in the Ravenswood-Lake View area. The ceremonies were held on Memorial Day.

Officers of the South Shore (Chicago) Historical Society are: J. Wesley Blades, president; Mrs. Elizabeth Dolby Coleman, vice-president; Mrs. Marie A. Grady, recording secretary; Blanche McLaughlin, corresponding secretary; and Harry C. Kriewitz, treasurer.

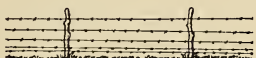
"The Chicago Public Library; Its History and Function," was the subject of a talk by Bernardine McLaughlin at the Society's annual spring meeting in May.



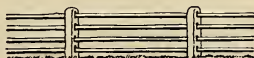
About eighty-five members of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society took a seventy-mile boat trip on Sunday, June 4. They went down the Chicago Sanitary Canal to Lockport and back. This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the completion of the Chicago Sanitary Canal.



Mrs. Harold Dunton gave an illustrated talk on historical sites and houses in DuPage County, at the June 11 meeting of the DuPage County Historical Society. A picnic supper followed the program which was held in the Thornhill Building of the Morton Arboretum.



"The Forgotten Heroes of Southern Illinois" was the subject of Mrs. S. D. Killough's paper at the May meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society.



Directors of the Galena Community Center and Historical Association re-elected the following officers at their June 12 meeting: Mrs. H. L. Heer, president; Dr. R. E. Logan, vice-president; Mrs. G. T. Millhouse, Jr., secretary; and J. T. Hissen, treasurer. The directors, elected for three years, were: Dr. Logan, Mrs. Edward Asmus, L. A. Nack, Bernard Pershang, and R. W. Calaman. Annual reports read at the meeting reflected a successful year for this twelve-year-old Association.

H. Clark Brown, who was the speaker at the seventh annual meeting, on May 28, of the Geneva Historical Society, had as his topic, "Indians—White and Red." Mr. Brown, a former Geneva schoolteacher, has long been interested in the American Indian. The meeting was held in the Kathryn Wheeler Memorial Room of the Geneva Public Library.

Bronze plaques were placed on two century-old buildings in Geneva—the Sykes Clinic and the Yates Building.

Officers of the Society are: Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, president; Mary Wheeler, first vice-president; Mrs. Florence Smith, second vice-president; Mrs. Margarét A. Allan, secretary; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer. Mrs. Josephine Jarvis and Frank Jarvis were elected new members of the board.



Charles W. Leonard spoke at the Glencoe Historical Society's May meeting. Mr. Leonard, who is superintendent of the Illinois State Training School for Boys at St. Charles, talked on, "The Inside Story of St. Charles."



At the organization of the Hardin County Historical Society on May 1, in the courthouse at Elizabethtown, the following officers were elected: A. B. Matheny, president; Clyde L. Flynn, vice-president; and Clarence C. Kerr, secretary-treasurer. Three men from the faculty of Southern Illinois University helped to organize this group. They are John W. Allen, David McIntosh, and Norman W. Caldwell. All three have done research in the history of the county and they attended the organizational meeting.



A hand-crocheted American flag, originally presented to General John J. Pershing, in World War I, has become the property of the Madison County Historical Museum. The flag, approximately four by eight feet, was offered in Chicago to the highest bidder in a World War II War Savings Bond campaign. Gust Maggos, of Alton, obtained the flag and presented it to Alton when the city passed its war bond quota.

Donald F. Lewis, president of the Madison County Historical Society has located the site of the Lewis and Clark camp which was on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. The party assembled there in 1803 before the expedi-

tion ascended the Missouri River. The camp site, originally at the mouth of the Wood River, is now covered by the Mississippi. The confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers has moved more than a mile to the south since 1804.



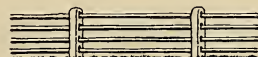
At the second annual dinner meeting of the Mattoon Historical Society held in May, Otto Eisenschiml was the principal speaker. His topic, "Unusual Aspects of the Death of Lincoln," held the audience spellbound. Dr. Eisenschiml also spoke to Mattoon High School students on the subject, "The Graduate Faces the World."



Margaret Norvell and Nancy Gibson, seniors in the Jacksonville High School, won first and second prizes, respectively, in the Morgan County Historical Society's essay contest. In the grade school competition, Janet Dunlap and Onalee Eberhardt were first and second prize winners. Janet is a student at David Prince School and Onalee attends the Lutheran school.



D. F. Nickols, of Lincoln, is heading a very active campaign for the formation of the Logan County Historical Society. The goal of one hundred charter members has been exceeded. The new group plans to become affiliated with the Illinois State Historical Society and looks forward to co-operating with the state organization in a centennial celebration in Lincoln in 1953.



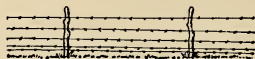
May Estelle Cook addressed members of the Oak Park Historical Society on May 25. Miss Cook's topic was, "A Glimpse of Old Oak Park."



Officers of the Peoria Historical Society chosen at the May meeting are: Philip Horton, president; Eugene Brown, vice-president; Mrs. Edna



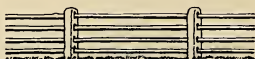
Reichelderfer, secretary; and E. C. Bessler, treasurer. The following new directors were named: George Johnson, Philip Becker, and Ray Brons.



The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, at a meeting on June 4, elected the following officers: James W. Carrott, president; George Irwin, first vice-president; Oliver B. Williams, second vice-president; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Augusta Buerkin, corresponding secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; Mrs. Leaton Irwin, librarian; Julius Kespohl, auditor. Finance officers are: L. E. Emmons, Sr., William F. Gerdes, Jr., and W. Edwin Brown.

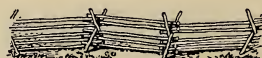


The history of the Chicago Sanitary District Canal was the subject discussed at the May meeting of the Riverside Historical Society. Slides and charts illustrated the talk which was given by a member of the sanitary district staff.



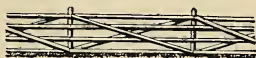
The Rock Island County Historical Society held its spring meeting in Port Byron on June 2. Preceding a dinner at the high school, members toured places of historical interest in Port Byron. The program following the dinner was in charge of Frank L. Morgan. Mrs. Virgil Simpson, William Lamb, and Mrs. Kenneth File read historical sketches of Port Byron. These were prepared by Mr. Morgan and Mrs. R. Taylor Drake.

Officers of the Society named at this meeting are: John H. Hauberg, honorary president; O. L. Nordstrom, president; C. R. Rosborough, first vice-president; Clarence Skinner, second vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Stephenson, secretary; Mrs. Clair V. Golden, treasurer; Helen Marshall, archivist. Directors, to serve for three years, are: Marvin Lyon, W. C. Lukens, H. F. Staack, Elsie Shocker, and C. V. Golden.



The St. Clair County Historical Society held its spring meeting Friday, May 26, at the Turkey Hill Grange Hall. Four talks were given on different

aspects of Turkey Hill history. The speakers were: Mrs. Sherman Stookey, Oliver Muser, Curt Eckert, and Robert Simon.



The Saline County Historical Society met in May at the home of its president, Ernest V. Gates, near Wasson. Mr. Gates gave a talk on Indian history in southern Illinois and showed his collection of arrowheads, tomahawks, and other Indian relics.

Following a picnic supper in June at the old salt wells near Equality, J. Ward Barnes explained the area's history.

On Sunday, July 9, the Society met at Resthaven, country home of the late L. O. Trigg, and joined with members of the Ozark Tours in a memorial service for him. July 10 and 11 were devoted to the twentieth annual Ozark Tour as planned by Mr. Trigg. The group followed a route through the Illinois Ozarks which will be known as Trigg's Trail.



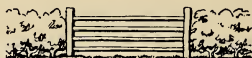
Dr. Clarence P. McClelland spoke at the annual spring meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society held in Carmi on May 5. His talk was a review of the work of the Society and he complimented White County on the formation of a local chapter. Organization plans for the White County Historical Society were laid at this meeting. Sam A. Ziegler, of Carmi, is the moving spirit of the new unit. J. Ward Barnes presented a memorial to the late L. O. Trigg, and Pat McGuire and Rosalie Wagner, both of Carmi, furnished musical selections.

Officers of the Southern Illinois Historical Society named at this spring meeting include: Fred H. Shappard, president; Mrs. Ida Choisser, vice-president; W. S. Burkhart, secretary-treasurer. Sam A. Ziegler was appointed to the board of directors to fill the vacancy left by the death of L. O. Trigg.



Sponsored by the Swedish Historical Society Dr. Nils William Olsson showed a colored motion picture, "A Scandinavian Summer," in Rockford on May 18. Dr. Olsson, a University of Chicago faculty member, took the pictures last summer.

The Vermilion County Historical Society and the Governor Bradford Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution met together in Danville at the home of Joseph H. Barnhart on the afternoon of Sunday, June 4. Jay Monaghan spoke to the group from the balcony of the Barnhart home—the same balcony from which Lincoln delivered an address in 1858. Mr. Monaghan enumerated the outstanding characteristics of Abraham Lincoln.



A melodrama of the 1880's, "Curse You, Jack Dalton!" was presented at the May meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society.



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